OF CITIZENS AND LEADERS:

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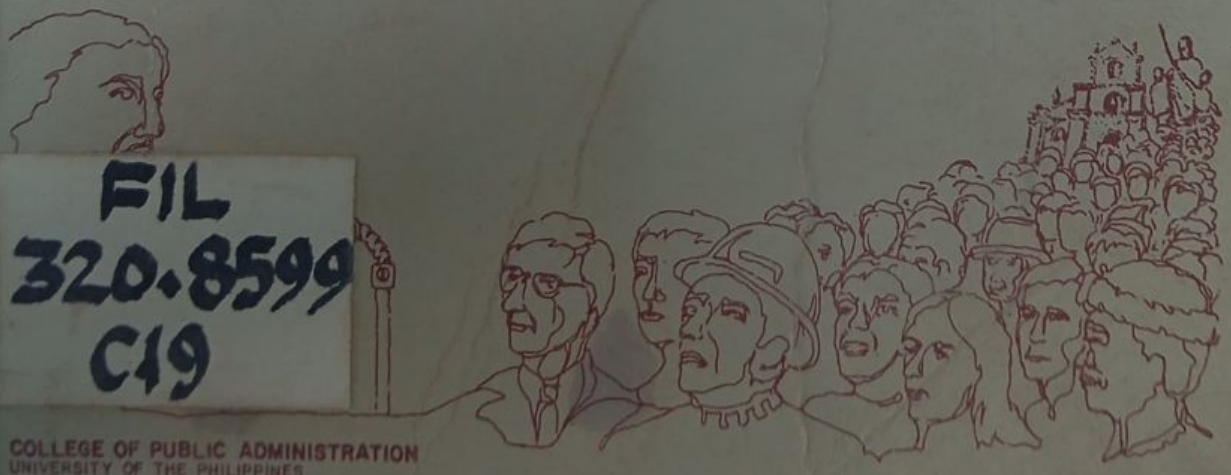

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Of Citizens And Leaders: Reform Politics and Government in a Suburban Setting

Edited by

Ledivina V. Cariño and Arturo G. Pacho

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1- San Juan, Philippines (Rizal) - Politics and government

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FOREWORD

This monograph, *Of Citizens and Leaders*, focuses on the political and administrative changes and reforms in the Municipality of San Juan, Province of Rizal (now a part of Metro Manila) since the local elections of 1967. In that year, Joseph E. Estrada, a popular movie actor, won, as an independent candidate, the mayorship of the municipality against two oldtimers in San Juan politics. However, it was only after a series of protests and counter-protests that only ended when the Supreme Court handed down a decision that Mayor Estrada was able to assume the post.

A week after assuming office in August 1969, the Mayor decided that he needed something more than a sincere desire to do good for his town if he were to fulfill his election promises. Thus, he commissioned the Local Government Center of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines to undertake a management survey of the municipal government. To further accelerate the development he has started and to be able to formulate appropriate plans, in 1972 he again requested the Center to do a program development study which outlined the goals and objectives of the various services being rendered by the municipal government to the people of San Juan. We, the team members from the College and the Center who worked with the Mayor and his staff in the conduct of these two studies, would like to think that we have been able to help the Mayor and the other municipal officials in the achievement of their plans for San Juan.

With the support of the Bureau of Local Government of the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, the CPA/LGC research team integrated the two earlier studies into one monograph. The study was also expanded to include a discussion on citizen participation in local governance, particularly in the planning and implementation of development programs/projects.

Through the publication of this monograph, we hope to inspire other local government officials to increase their efforts in improving governmental administration at the local level for more effective delivery of services to the people. We also hope to provide students of politics and government a case report on one municipality that may lead to a better understanding of the dynamics of the political/governmental processes in the country.

RAUL P. DE GUZMAN
Dean

College of Public Administration
University of the Philippines
Manila

14 December 1978

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PREFACE

Of Citizens and Leaders is a product of many minds and is a collaborative effort in the real sense of the term. The authors have come together from four different management and research projects of the Local Government Center and the Research and Publications Program, both of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. Our official involvement with San Juan started with "Report on the Municipal Government, San Juan, Rizal," a management study undertaken by the Local Government Center in 1969. The LGC San Juan team was composed of then Director Raul P. de Guzman, Arturo G. Pacho, Josefino Rivera, Daisy G. Bernabe, Perla E. Legaspi, Pacifico G. Conanan, Aurora Payad, Lorinda Carlos, Diana Sabater and Nilda L. Exmundo. Meanwhile, one class in the College of Public Administration, P.A. 255 (Community Politics and Administration) conducted by the undersigned in the second semester, 1970-71 focused on the community power structure and popular participation in San Juan. The result included in this volume is Eleanor Maling-Paray's case study of the construction of the public high school, in Chapter VII.

Then in October 1971, the College was requested to conduct an electoral poll by the incumbent mayor. Determined that this would not just be an exercise in straw balloting, we undertook as a rider a house-to-house survey of the characteristics, attitudes and activities of the people of San Juan. The data from these are summarized by Emma Boncaras-Viñeza in Chapter IV.

With the inauguration of the second Estrada term, the Local Government Center was again called upon to conduct a management study, this time focusing more on development plans and programs rather than the usual O & M approach. Called "Program Development in the Municipality of San Juan, Rizal," the LGC team was headed by Arturo G. Pacho, who wrote the paper based on this in Chapter VI. Chapters II to III are based on parts of this Report and updated by the authors for this volume.

The team members were Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, Arturo G. Pacho, Daisy G. Bernabe, Perla E. Legaspi, Nilda L. Exmundo, Pacifico G. Conanan, Vicenta C. Rimando and Eloisa G. Briones.

Finally in September 1973, realizing the rich mine we had already explored in San Juan, the Center decided to seek the support of the Bureau of Local Government, Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD) to finance the integration of the studies into one distinct volume. The present authors then met together as a new team co-headed by Arturo G. Pacho and myself. As it studied the available information, the team found some gaps which it then commissioned individual members to fill. We also decided to bring the data up to 1973. I was responsible for all editing and rearrangement of chapters since Professor Pacho had left for a consultancy at the U.N. Asian Development Institute, Bangkok by the time all the papers were drafted.

The volume then, is a research effort spanning four years. In pursuing the theme of government-people collaboration in the governance of a local community we had anticipated the emphasis of the Martial Law regime on barangay democracy. While the main lines of the San Juan story as it is narrated here developed too early to be able to use the present DLGCD approach, it may, however, provide a model of how the citizens may be involved in their local communities. The San Juan system has started from where people are and has sought the people's participation in various ways — using their time, resources, labor, expertise. In this scheme, the citizens helped to the level of their abilities; they were not asked to do more than they can give, and the assistance was given voluntarily after the officials showed the community the direct benefits they can receive from the program. *Of Citizens and Leaders* shows that under these conditions, popular participation and involvement can work.

LEDIVINA V. CARIÑO
Manila, November 1978

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have helped in transforming the College studies of San Juan into the single volume integrated here. The authors and editors are first grateful to the sponsors of the different projects from which this study has drawn, the municipal government of San Juan for the two management studies, Joseph E. Estrada and the College of Public Administration for the 1971 household survey, and the Bureau of Local Government, MLGCD, particularly Director Gaudioso C. Sosmeña, Jr. for the integration of the projects into one study, and the San Juan Progress Foundation for its publication.

The people of San Juan who helped us were legion. Mayor Joseph E. Estrada opened many doors and himself submitted to long interviews. His staff, especially Jesus Lee, private secretary; Ernesto Gungon, municipal treasurer; Jose Alvior, municipal secretary; and Martino Guerrero, assistant municipal secretary, provided a lot of information although they know that our work would not be without criticisms of theirs. We are also grateful to the other political leaders of San Juan, particularly Dr. Braulio (Boyong) Sto. Domingo, Mayor Engracio Santos, Nicanor Ibuna, Jr., Councilors Calixto Dungo, Nicanor Salaysay, Pedro Perey, Mariano Domingo and Eugenio Maclang and the present Vice-Mayor and Councilors of San Juan; the members of the San Juan Municipal Development Council, headed by Juan D. Quintos and especially the Education Sub-Committee led by Dr. Dominador Lapuz; and the people of San Juan especially those who have acted as key informants, survey respondents and participants in the development programs of the community.

Within the College of Public Administration itself are many people who have assisted us in every step of the way. Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, now Dean of the College of Public Administration, has been our initial contact in San Juan, being himself one of its key leaders. His encouragement and guidance were felt on both the San Juan and the U.P. sides; indeed without him, there

would have been no book and fewer developments to write a book about. Dr. Felipe V. Oamar, successor of Dean de Guzman as Director of the Local Government Center, has provided the final push to see this volume through. Prof. Proserpina D. Tapales as LGC Chief of Research (1975-76) has gladly given us her research staff's time and on one occasion at her father's sickbed we were able to make an important interview which helped clarify the political history of San Juan.

With several handwritings and styles to contend with, the LGC administrative staff has come through with its usual success. Mrs. Leticia D. Martinez typed at least two drafts of the manuscript and has also done her share in reminding the staff about deadlines. Others who did clerical work for us are Nestor Villanueva and Amado Acuña. Responsibility for presswork has been shouldered by the ladies of "the Pub" (the editorial staff of the Research and Publications Program) — Catalina T. Garcia, Anacleta A. Eusebio, Grace K. Samson and Julieta M. Bulfa — and Melinda Liberato, our able Publications Assistant.

Dr. Sylvia Guerrero, a future San Juanite, has gone over the book with a keen eye. Many revisions have been made as a result of her criticisms.

Professor Arturo G. Pacho and I planned and assigned the chapters in this book. He also helped in the initial editing of the papers. However, Art accepted a consultancy at the U.N. Asian Development Institute, Bangkok, Thailand and later a fellowship for doctoral studies at Rutgers University, so that final editing devolved on me. I still consider Art the better writer and editor and I know this would have been a better book had he been around until its completion.

Finally, to all the authors who put up with my demands for revisions/deadlines/new data, my thanks.

LEDIVINA V. CARIÑO

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Chapter I

San Juan: An Old, Changing Town

LEDIVINA V. CARIÑO

Old towns in metropolitan areas seem strangely out of place. History, gradual development and centrality are the peculiar properties of the main city. Beyond it are the glistening suburbs, erstwhile ricefields now filled with identical houses and people whose main lives are lived in the central city. Farther on the fringe are rural areas gradually being sucked into the vortex of metropolitan activity. Yet old towns are suburbs which are like the areas at the edge of the metropolis except that they are old urban areas, not recently transformed rural villages. But like these villages, they have solidarity: oldtimers still insist they can identify recent arrivals by their appearance, accent and place of residence. Indeed, old towns are different from the new suburbs in that they have residents who can look back to more than one generation there.

Old towns also treasure their identity: street names have legends which are not just the product of a subdivision advertiser's mind; residents carefully distinguish between their town and the central city as if to underscore its imperfect absorption into the metropolis. They are supported in this contention by the fact that often, the existence of old towns is backed by legally set boundaries, making them truly distinct entities.

This particular characteristic of old towns makes them an anomaly in the entire urban region. The metropolis after all is a system, i.e., a large social and economic structure made up of closely related sections, each contributing to the common goal of metropolitan development. However, the old town dares to be itself, and seeks its own progress which may or may not contribute to the systemic goal. On closer analysis, the problem old towns pose recalls Gouldner's perceptive distinction between in-

terdependence and autonomy. All system parts, he stated, must interact with and contribute to the maintenance of every other part, if they are to remain within the system. However, such interdependence does not negate the possibility of autonomy whereby a part may continue to perform internally-oriented activities aimed at its own subsystem maintenance and only incidentally, if at all, supportive or disruptive of the larger system's equilibrium.[1]

All members of the metropolis, of course, have varying degrees of autonomy and interdependence with the whole system. However, old towns because of their distinct character seem to bring the former idea into sharper focus. All too often, the metropolis is regarded as a whole, without regard to the special qualities that each of its parts offers to the system. Yet it may be instructive to analyze the separate developments within each subsystem in order to appreciate not only their possible influences on the larger region but also their more direct effects on the progress (negative or positive) within their own spheres. Parenthetically, such information may assist in locating possible areas for the development of the total system itself.

The Search for the Subject-Municipality

It is in this light that we have chosen in the research project reported here to study one urban municipality in the Metro Manila area. While we have attempted to describe our selected community in as much detail as is possible — and, hopefully, relevant — we wish at the outset to highlight the fact that San Juan del Monte's main import to us is as type: an old town which has exhibited much autonomy in recent years. Our focus is on the town as such. Thus, its status and activities as a member of the metropolitan community are swiftly touched on rather than closely discussed. An analysis of such subsystem interplay would require more materials than we have gathered for this volume; in any case, that would probably require an involved scrutiny of more than one community.

There are other municipalities like San Juan which could have been the focus of our study. The fact that San Juan fulfills the requirements of the type we need does not completely

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1 Alvin Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today*, Vol. II (New York and Evanston: Harper Torch Books, 1959), pp. 19-27.

explain its selection. (We did not worry about normality and representativeness since those issues can be raised against any town available for selection. This reinforces our point about autonomy and unique development of system parts.) But other factors played a role in the selection process itself. First is access to the municipality. This includes convenience in terms of distance and travel time. San Juan has also been open to us partly because of personal links between officials of both the College and the Municipality, a relationship which has allowed us to sometimes ask impertinent questions, to acquire otherwise hard-to-get information and to penetrate even usually confidential meetings.

Second is familiarity with the community by reason of professional involvement in it. San Juan is the only client-municipality so far which has commissioned two management studies from the Local Government Center (LGC), a unit of the College. This has afforded us a chance to critically observe developments in the area at close range.

Third, we selected San Juan because of the recency of many relevant events, a fortuitous circumstance that often enabled us to supplement and complement our informants' recall and available records with our own following of these events as they have unfolded. Our information came from varied sources, ranging from first-hand observation and involvement in the policy making and implementation process to a close reading of print media and listening to broadcast accounts of current developments.

But we are also aware that the advantages San Juan offers may have, like Janus, two faces. Familiarity with the area, access and recency, whether in combination or singly, have affected the objectivity of researchers more seasoned than us. We can only say that we tried to minimize the inroads of subjectivity by the consistent and conscious use of many devices. First is the use of as many sources of information from as many vantage points as is humanly possible.

Second is the use of the "irreverent eye"[2] — critical read-

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[2]From the title of Arlene K. Daniel's review essay of Everett C. Hughes. "The Sociological Eye," in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. I. No. 5 (September 1972), p. 402. The "irreverent" or "sociological eye" enables the observers to see what others do not see... (It) requires that we not be limited by the perspectives held by the social actors nor the situations we study" (p. 407).

ing and discussion of each other's work, both written and oral. We have also profited from comments of colleagues not related to the San Juan team or even to the College. We have also tried to keep distance by using researchers who are not connected with the Local Government Center, San Juan's consultant-institution. They include this author,[3] two full-time research assistants[4] and seven students enrolled in a local government course conducted by this author as a research class in San Juan's politics and power structure.[5]

Beyond this we can only assure ourselves and the readers with faith. We think that the College-San Juan relationship, and especially the present research team's linkage with the community is principally a professional one. We dare say that in the eyes of San Juan, as in ours, this is the more important and the more valued interconnection. Our confidence in this is bolstered by the fact that all San Juan — including persons with opinions conflicting with ours or with the present administration — was open to us and remains so.

The Research Problem

Our major concern throughout this volume is the description and examination of the mechanisms for autonomous development and reform in an old town in Metropolitan Manila. That old town is San Juan del Monte, a small municipality at the eastern edge of Manila. It is often ignored, being counted merely among the towns of Metropolitan Manila from which members of the labor force regularly commute to go to their place of work in the major cities of Manila, Quezon and Pasay, and in the country's premier municipality, Makati. San Juan is simply that town that gets into the newspapers annually on the feast day of its patron, St. John the Baptist, when all who use its thoroughfares are warned to roll up the windows of their vehicles or take an unwelcome bath of canal water.[6] San Juan receives further

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[3] All other authors of this volume except Emma B. Viñeza have contributed to one or both management studies.

[4] They were recruited at different stages of the project. The first, was paid out of College funds; the second, from a grant given by the Department of Local Government and Community Development.

[5] The eighth member of the class happens to be an LGC researcher and is one of our co-authors.

[6] This irreverent custom has recently been banned in favor of a more sedate, yet not as colorful, commemoration of the patron's life.

newspaper notice when it is visited by floods and typhoons which come almost as regularly as the annual feast.

Thus the publicity that the town has received since Joseph E. Estrada, four-time FAMAS best actor, entered its politics is in many ways unprecedented. The whole story contains many of the elements of a dramatic screenplay: a closely contested election, a protest case decided in record time, a hurried oath of office, more protests, a rather quick taking over of the helm of administration, then a landslide victory in the next election. Joseph Estrada's candidacy began on a note of reform. How his regime set to accomplish it, in what areas it succeeded or failed and the changes that happened in this old town from 1969 to 1973 are the subject of this book.

Our emphasis on the politico-administrative sector is dictated by its centrality in Philippine local areas. Hollnsteiner's judges, for example, could not conceive of any person who would "have a lot to say about programs that are planned" outside of the mayor and other officials of the community.[7] Laquian's concentration on this sector in his study of Metropolitan Manila's power structure may be seen as an implicit acknowledgment of that view.[8] The same tendency seems to be present in San Juan. In our 1971 household survey, residents generally attributed community leadership to politicians and government officials, instead of people in other roles. (See Table 1.) It is interesting to note that while civic leaders tended to get the most votes as part of the group that runs the community, politicians and government officials were considered as the people who ran successful projects. (Perhaps the former represents a populist abstract idea while the latter deals with concrete reality?) However, we shall not neglect the roles of civic leaders in the community since one major mechanism under study is a council composed of people representing the various sectors of the community.

San Juan appears to have followed the "locality development" model in its pursuit of community change. This strategy emphasizes the key role of "local people in goal determination

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[7] Mary R. Hollnsteiner, *The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine Municipality* (Quezon City: U P. Community Development Research Council, 1963), p. 166.

[8] Aprodicio A. Laquian, *The City in Nation-Building* (Manila: U.P. College of Public Administration, 1966).

Table 1

Various Attributes of Community Leadership and the Roles of Persons Regarded as Possessing Them (In percent)

	Most Respected Person(s)	Member of a Group Which Runs the Community	Sponsor of Successful Community Projects
Politician	42.63%	23.59%	47.46%
Government Official	21.31	15.73	24.05
Total (this sector only)	63.94	39.32	71.51
Civic Leader	14.72	52.80	22.15
Religious Leader	6.59	—	3.16
All Others	14.72	7.86	3.16
Total	99.97*	99.98*	99.98*

*Totals do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Note: Only responses with identified roles were included in the computation.

Source: Household survey of San Juan conducted by the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, in November, 1971.

and action," its major themes being "democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help, development of indigenous leadership and education."[9]

In addition, any study of development must take into consideration the factors of leadership and participation, organization and structure and the processes and activities that make growth and change possible in a given setting. Accordingly, the research undertook the following: (1) a description of the subject municipality, taking special cognizance of changes that

[9] Fred M. Cox, *et al., Strategies of Community Organization: A Book of Readings* (Ithaca, Illinois: I.E. Peacock Publishers, 1970), p. 4. The other models Cox and associates identified are: (1) social planning, emphasizing the technical solution of problems and the manipulation of large scale organizations and (2) social acts which comprehend basic changes in institutions and the structuring of the community.

have occurred between 1968 and 1973; (2) an analysis of the political process including the electoral success of Joseph E. Estrada and his performance, programs, personality and other bases for appeal; (3) an evaluation of the organizational umbrellas used to get things done — the main structures scrutinized are the municipal council, the regular forum for policy making and the San Juan Municipal Development Council (SJMDC), a special body created to screen development and reform ideas emanating from all sectors of the community; and (4) an examination of the activities that make up the development program of the Estrada administration.

These subjects will be discussed mainly in Chapters II, III, IV and V, respectively. Chapters VII and VIII will endeavor to tie all these threads together and submit the insights that this case study offers towards a greater understanding of the role of old towns in metropolitan areas.

Chapter II

The Old Town: Its Ecology and Economy

Daisy G. Bernabe, Vicenta C. Rimando and
Ledivina V. Cariño

San Juan in History

As early as 1578 and for the two centuries that followed, San Juan del Monte was part of Sta. Ana de Sapa. At the beginning of the Spanish era, Sta. Ana de Sapa included areas known today as Pasay City, the districts of Malate, Paco, Quiapo, Sampaloc, San Miguel (all of Manila), and the municipalities of San Juan del Monte, Taytay, Mandaluyong, and San Pedro Makati (now simply Makati). San Juan continued to be under the Spanish Church of Sta. Ana until 1863 when it was placed under the authority of the Parish of San Felipe de Neri up to 1892.

San Juan's governance was originally under the jurisdiction of the Province of Tondo (later renamed Manila) and in 1783 it was granted a civil government. In 1853, it was combined with other sections of Manila and Laguna to form the politico-military district of Morong.[1]

The pattern of government in San Juan during the Spanish regime was the same as those existing throughout the islands. The chief executive of the municipal government was a "gobernadorcillo" (petty governor), assisted by a "teniente mayor" (chief lieutenant), the "juez de ganados" (judge of the cattle), the "juez de sementeras" (judge of the field) and the "juez de policia" (judge of the police). There was also a town secretary called the "directorcillo," who was appointed and removed from office by the "gobernadorcillo."[2]

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1 San Juan (Rizal), Office of the Mayor, *Informational Data of San Juan, Rizal, 1972.*

2 Eliodoro Wita "Report submitted for the Workshop on Urban Land Use Survey," Institute of Planning, University of the Philippines, 1970.

The town was divided into barangays, each one headed by a "cabeza," a counterpart of the ancient *datu*. A "cabeza de barangay" was mainly responsible for the collection of taxes, including the responsibility to cover the shortage with his own money whenever collections fell short of the amount due.

San Juan was the scene of important battles during the Philippine Revolution. It was active in the Katipunan, the local head being Andres Soriano, who was to become an industrial magnate within a few decades.

On August 30, 1896, the Battle of Pinaglabanan broke out between the musket-equipped Spanish and the Filipino bolo-wielding Katipuneros. Ill-equipped and outnumbered, Filipinos were forced to retreat when cavalry and infantry reinforcements arrived from Manila. A hundred and thirty comrades were left behind dead, wounded or dying in the field. Many were captured, including Pio Valenzuela.[3]

According to General Emilio Aguinaldo, supported by General Pio del Pilar and Col. Sinforo San Pedro, this was the scene of the first "cry" of the revolution, not Balintawak or Pugad-Lawin.[4]

The incident that triggered the Filipino-American War also took place in San Juan. An area separating the two armies was declared neutral by the Americans, prohibiting entry of Filipino soldiers. Violators were ordered shot. Brigadier General Arthur McArthur warned Colonel San Miguel about violations of the boundary regulations and the latter promised to restrain his troops. For months the rule stood.

On the eve of February 4, 1899, while Private William Grayson, accompanied by Private Miller, was patrolling the area up to San Juan Bridge, he heard a Filipino whistle from the left that was immediately answered by another from the right. At a distance a red lantern flashed and up sprang four Filipinos. Grayson ordered them to halt and they heeded momentarily, then continued to advance until Grayson again yelled at them to halt.

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3 *Ibid.*

4 Cited in Gregorio F. Zaide, *History of the Katipunan* (Manila: Loyal Press, 1939), p. 103.

The next instant, he fired. A Filipino dropped. Another two leaped forward, one killed by Miller, the other by Grayson. Then firing broke out from all lines and once again San Juan was a battleground.[5] History tells us that the uprising was easily suppressed because the military strength of the Filipinos was no match to that of the Americans.

The creation of the province of Rizal by the Philippine Commission on June 11, 1901 included San Juan as one of the towns of Manila that formed a part of the province.[6] Since almost all lands were still owned by the Friars at the time, these were subdivided and sold to the public in 1918, with the occupants getting priority to the areas.

Until 1976, San Juan was one of 26 municipalities of Rizal province. It is bounded on the north by Quezon City, on the south by Mandaluyong, on the east by Pasig, and on the west by Manila. It is also bounded by three main waterways from east to north — Maytunas Creek, San Juan River and the Salapan Creek. The northeast area is traversed by Ermitanio Creek originating from Wack-Wack and Crame Creek from Camp Crame. Crame Creek converges with Salapan Creek at Santolan Road and winds up in San Juan River.[7] The terrain of San Juan may be classified as moderately rolling but many areas are relatively low and flat, making it an easy victim of floods and typhoons. The numerous winding and oftentimes intersecting narrow streets give the town a crowded and cramped-up look.

The municipality has an area of approximately 545 hectares,[8] and is composed of 22 barrios including Greenhills. The upper-class subdivision of Greenhills was opened in the late 'sixties. Part of the subdivision lies in the adjacent town of Mandaluyong.

Transportation and Communications

San Juan is linked with the neighboring towns and cities through public transportation facilities and the communications

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5 Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (Manila: Erehwon Publishing House, 1968), pp. 9-10.

6 Nineteen towns of Manila province and 14 towns of Morong composed the newly created province.

7 San Juan (Rizal), Office of the Mayor, *Informational Data of San Juan, Rizal, 1972*, p. 1.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The renovated San Juan Municipal building.

Jeepneys ply the N. Domingo-Quiapo route.

Newly cemented and widened Blumentritt Street. Note global lights on both sides of the street.

media. Aside from taxis, jeepneys stationed around the public market make trips to Cubao, Quezon City and Mandaluyong. Buses ply the Blumentritt-N.Domingo-Quiapo and the Santolan-N.Domingo-Quiapo routes. Jeepneys also ply the same route many of which continue up to Divisoria. Smaller jeepneys and tricycles serve local residents within the town itself.

Only one television station — Channel 13 — is located in San Juan, but residents can tune in to television and radio sta-

tions in other parts of Metropolitan Manila. Metropolitan newspapers and popular magazines are available in town. There is no local newspaper probably because news of interest to the town appear in metropolitan dailies and magazines.

Postal and telegraphic services are provided by the Bureau of Posts and the Bureau of Telecommunications with the RCPI and PT&T (both privately owned and operated) supplementing the wire service of the latter bureau.

The Government Telephone System and the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company link San Juan with Manila, Quezon City, Mandaluyong, Caloocan City, Pasay City and other places. Telephone service has been improved after PLDT established a telephone exchange at the corner of Ortigas Avenue and Santolan Road.

Public Utilities

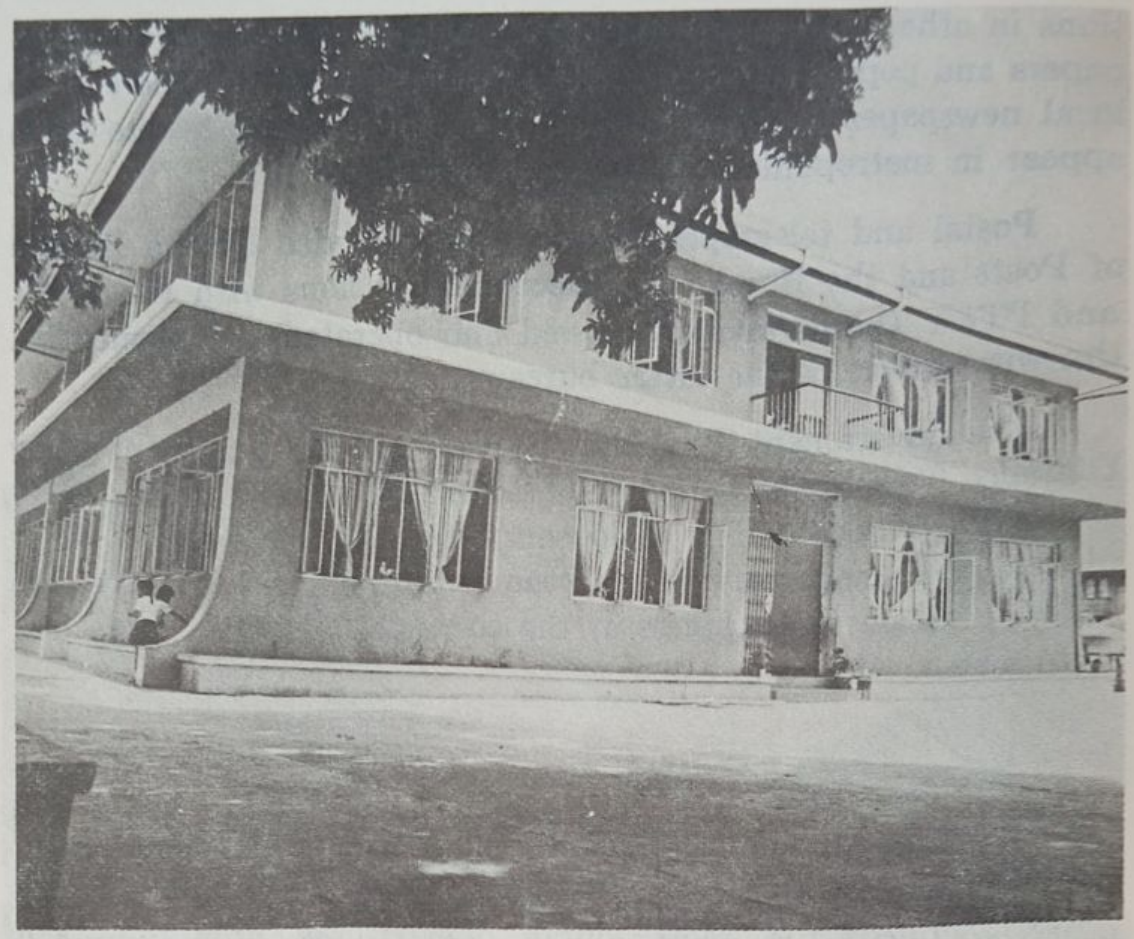
The major public utilities in San Juan such as electric, water and ice plants are being operated by the Manila Electric Company (Meralco), the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (MWSS, formerly NAWASA) and the San Juan Ice Plant, respectively. The Manila Gas Corporation also extends gas service to the municipality.

Facilities of Meralco, are relatively adequate. Water service of the MWSS, on the other hand, is being supplemented by deep wells especially in high areas. In some cases deep wells do not pump out sufficient water so that regardless of the season of the year the Department of Public Services and the Fire Department ration water daily to these areas.

Education

As of April 1971, there were nine public elementary schools in San Juan. Six of the nine elementary schools include primary and intermediate levels. Sta. Lucia Elementary School Unit I covers the primary level only while Addition Hills Elementary School extends up to the fifth grade.

The first San Juan Municipal High School was inaugurated in July 1970. It opened with an initial enrolment of some 300 first-year students divided into six sections. As of 1973, there



Side view of the new Sta. Lucia Elementary School building.

A classroom scene at the San Juan Municipal High School.

were 750 students in the first and second years. The events and decisions that led to the establishment of this high school are detailed in Chapter VII.

There are 14 private schools in San Juan. Seven of them are Catholic schools, two of which offer collegiate courses besides elementary and high school education. These are Aquinas School, Immaculate Conception Academy, Dominican College, Holy Child Parochial School, St. Dominic Free School, St. John's Academy and Xavier School. There are also non-sectarian schools such as the Florida Institute, covering secondary and collegiate education, and the Roosevelt Memorial High School.

The Philippine Chinese Chen Kwang School and the Southern Rizal Chinese School, both catering to Chinese residents in the municipality, provide elementary education. The San Juan Hospital School offers midwifery. Two pre-school institutions are the Little Baguio Kindergarten School and the Mrs. Peralta Kindergarten and Primary School.

From March 1967 to April 1971, enrolment in all public elementary schools in San Juan rose from 9,548 to 14,145 pupils, or a 48 percent increase during the period. The total public elementary school enrolment for 1970 is eleven percent of the 1970 total population. The 1971 total enrolment is 13.2 percent of the population projection for that year.

There was a total of 378 teachers for both the primary and the intermediate levels in 1971. The ratio of teachers to pupils was approximately 1:37.

Religious and Social Aspects

There are three Roman Catholic churches in San Juan, namely, Pinaglabanan Church, Santuario del Santo Cristo and Mary the Queen Church. In addition there is a Jehovah's Witnesses Church, a Seventh Day Adventist Church, a Methodist Church and an *Iglesia ni Kristo* Chapel. There are also quite a number of religious organizations and movements in the community.

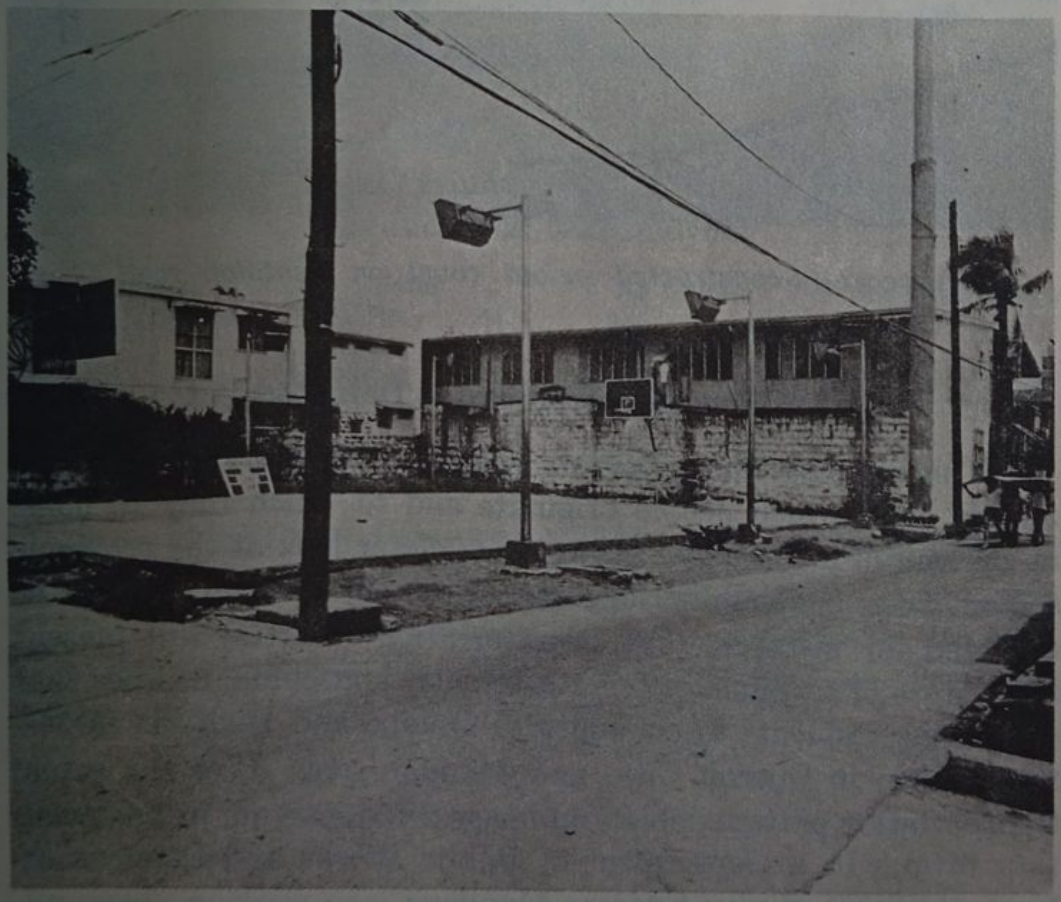
Recreational facilities in the municipality include the *Munting Liwasan ng mga Batang San Juan*, a mini-park costing ₱260,000 of which only ₱60,000 was borne by the municipal govern-

The Holy Cross Church on Blumentritt St., one of the oldest churches in the Philippines.

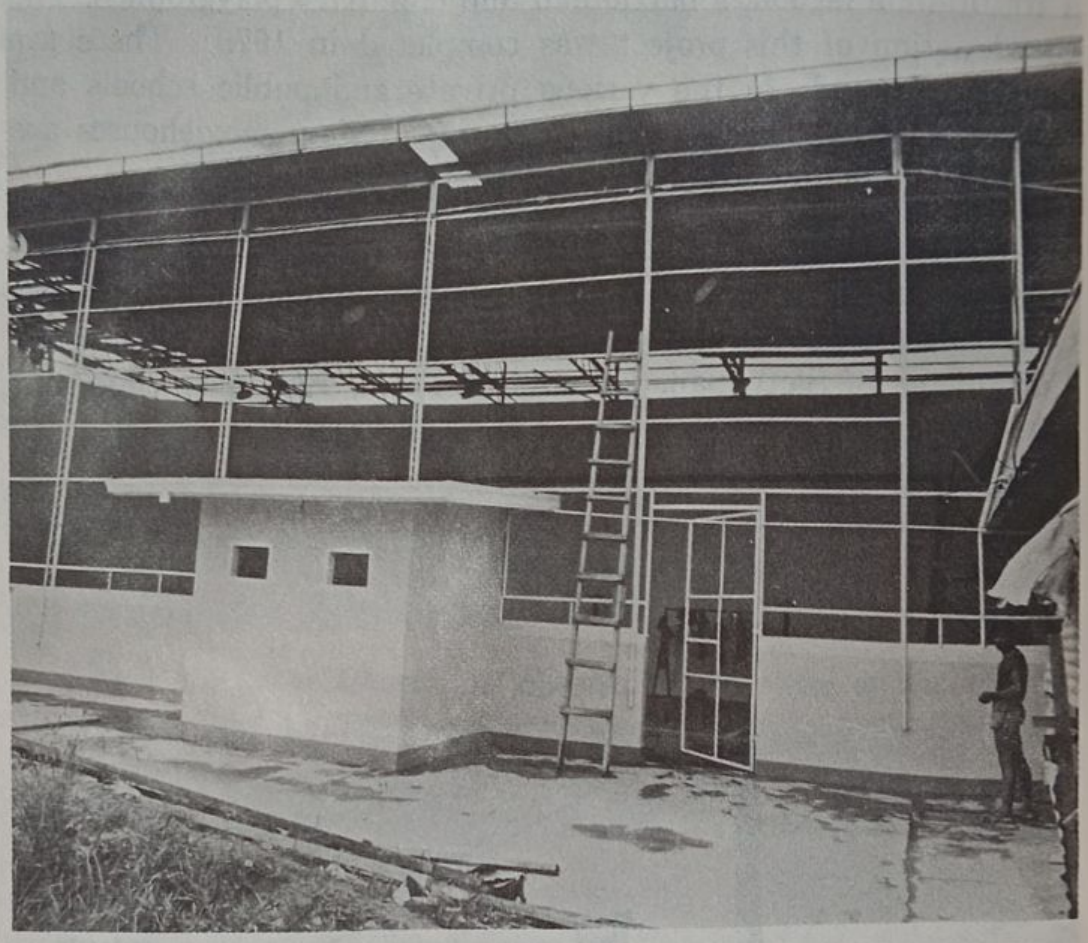
The new edifice of the St. John the Baptist Parish on Pinaglabanan Street.

ment, the balance having been realized from contributions by civic-spirited citizens of the community. The main attractions of this park are a *salakot* (peasant woman's hat) a replica of the Philippine pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1955, a fountain, a lagoon, a barrio hall and children's playgrounds. The construction of this project was completed in 1970. There are also playgrounds in the various private and public schools and basketball courts in the different barrios. Four moviehouses are located in town of which two are first-run theatres.

Civic organizations actively involved in extending social services to the municipality are the Jaycees, Lions Club, Lioness Club, Knights of Columbus, San Juan Youth Council, Citizens Committee of San Juan, Knights of Rizal, Barangay Club and many others.



A basketball court on F. Roman and Leyba Sts.



A recently-constructed pelota court on Santolan road.

An Economic Web Not a Dormitory

The common image of San Juan is that of a bedroom community from which people originate and to which they go home at the end of a workday. However, a closer look at the economic sector of the community suggests a different picture. It may be expected for instance, that transportation facilities will present the picture of a system of private vehicles and public utilities that enable the residents to commute to Quiapo and Divisoria in Manila, Cubao in Quezon City, and Mandaluyong. Yet the actual transportation pattern depicts an image different from just a dormitory town. In a Department of Public Works and Communications (DPWC) study of Metro Manilans who work in areas outside their community of residence, it was found that while 6.6 per-

cent of commuters live in San Juan and Mandaluyong,[9] fully 5.8 percent of outsiders go to the offices and factories of these two municipalities for their daily bread. In addition, among the persons who commute to shop, 8.2 percent come from San Juan and Mandaluyong, and 7.0 percent go to shop there. The differences of .8 percent and 1.2 percent, respectively, are certainly slight. The figures then suggest, with due allowance to the possible differential contributions of Mandaluyong residents, workers and shoppers to the statistics, that (1) there appear to be some economic opportunities for members of the labor force in San Juan; and (2) the opportunities within the area are almost as numerous as those outside it; and (3) similarly, commercial attractions of the area are only slightly less than those outside it. This is not to suggest, of course, that all San Juanites should work and shop within its boundaries since the town's economy can support them; this is unrealistic and goes against the grain of inter-community linkages that is the essence of metropolitanism. Rather, the figures highlight the idea that we are dealing with a community that offers not only residential areas but employment in industrial and commercial pursuits as well.

Table 1

Transportation Pattern of Shopping and Commuting to Work, San Juan and Mandaluyong

Metro Manila Residents Who	Total		As Origin		As Destination	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Commute to Work	1,045,956	100.0	69,661	6.6	61,242	5.8
Shop	207,609	100.0	17,081	8.2	14,601	7.0

Source of basic data: Department of Public Works and Communications

Note: (1) Metro Manila is defined as the cities of Manila, Quezon, Pasay and Caloocan and the municipalities of San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati, Navotas, Malabon, Parañaque, Marikina, Pasig, Pateros and Las Piñas.

(2) "Total" includes only those who cross community boundaries as defined in the study, for working and shopping. Intra-community workers and shoppers are excluded.

[9] Unfortunately, the two areas are combined in the study and no figures for San Juan alone are available.

What are the economic activities that take place in San Juan? There were 1,546 business establishments that paid taxes in San Juan in 1973, an increase of five percent since 1968. Table 2 gives their breakdown in terms of major industry groups using the NEC/BCS classification. As can be seen, the firms tend to be engaged in tertiary activities such as trading and the services with only about a fifth devoted to manufacturing and less than two percent to construction. While the number of firms has increased and some individual percentages vary, the industrial structure of the economy has not altered much since 1968. Commerce dominated although to a lesser extent and manufacturing also had only 20 percent of the field. However, the services sector was almost as big as manufacturing, a proportion which had considerably diminished by 1973. The percentage of transportation establishments had also decreased while that of construction showed a slight increase.

Table 2

Comparison of Types of Establishments
in San Juan, By Industries
1968 and 1973

	1968		1973		Increase (Decrease)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Manufacturing	301	20.4	331	21.4	30	9.97
Commerce	843	57.3	991	64.1	148	17.56
Construction	25	1.7	50	3.2	25	100.00
Services	286	19.4	164	10.6	(142)	(49.65)
Transport	15	1.0	5	.3	(10)	(66.67)
Others	2	.1	5	.3	3	60.00
Total	1,472	100.0	1,546	100.0	74	5.03

Source of basic data: Office of the Municipal Treasurer, San Juan, Rizal, List of Taxpayers, 1968 and 1973.

A closer examination of the firms within each sector reveals a town which has a rather diversified industry base, quite unlike Marikina, say, which is distinguished for its main industry — shoe manufacturing. San Juan offers a wide variety of goods and services. By and large, these are oriented to consumption, with its manufacturing sector delivering food, dry goods, and even reading materials immediately useful to the purchaser, its commercial

sector composed largely of small retail stores, and its "services" sector dealing largely in personal services. At the same time, the changes during a short five-year period seem to signify the start, at least, of two trends. First, San Juan has expanded its construction sector greatly and is at the same time participating more in the more production-oriented industries. Moreover, the increase in the number of establishments seems to be accounted for by the influx of businesses which tend to have higher capitalization and capacity to deliver more goods and services than those existing in 1968. These may be evidenced by the increase of new manufacturing firms in the "heavy industry category," the growing number of construction companies and the large increase of wholesale commercial firms. These seem to imply that San Juan now supports quite an active commercial-industrial sector within its boundaries.

Chapter III

The People of San Juan

EMMA BONCARAS-VIÑEZA

Introduction

It has been said that if we are to get acquainted with communities and understand their present state of development, we must approach them through their collective mental life and behavior.[1] Accordingly, to obtain an overview of community life in San Juan, a survey questionnaire was administered in October 1971 to a group of San Juan residents. The study aims to draw a rough sketch of what San Juanites perceive as a collective unit — specifically, by looking into the extent of their participation in community activities and into their perception of existing community leadership in San Juan. In order to obtain an unbiased sample, interviewers were fielded to every third house of every street. They then asked the head of the family (or the spouse) to fill out a questionnaire. The questions were in Pilipino (with an accompanying English translation in parenthesis) and were mostly structured. A total of 248 respondents were interviewed. Majority of the respondents are married (71 percent). Ninety-three or 37.50 percent are between 36-50 years old, 51 or 20.56 percent fall within the 21-35 age range and 46 or 18.55 percent are 51-65 years old.[2]

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1 Wayland J. Hayes and Anthony Netboy, *The Small Community Looks Ahead* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), p. 8.

2 The study was a "rider" to the poll commissioned by the KBP. However, the questions discussed here were asked after those regarding electoral preferences. That poll correctly predicted the KBP's clean sweep in November, a finding none of the researchers really believed that October. However, its "partisan point" may account for the large number of "no responses" encountered here, a major limitation of this study.

Admittedly, this mini-research study, which was largely exploratory in nature, had its own limitations and inadequacies. Nonetheless, it might provide some insights about a slice of group and community life which could be used as springboard for more in-depth researches in the future.

John Dewey provides a useful starting point for a discussion of the survey results. He once stated:

> Men live in a community by virtue of the things they have in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge — a common understanding — like-mindedness as the sociologists say. Such things cannot be passed physically from one to another, like bricks; they cannot be shared as persons would share a pie by dividing it into physical pieces.[3]

Relatedly, several direct questions were formulated to determine what this sample of San Juanites perceive in common and to what extent they share common views on certain aspects of their community life.

Based on the length of stay of these respondents in San Juan, it can be inferred that majority of them have witnessed the beginning of the administration of Mayor Joseph Estrada and the consequent changes that have transpired in San Juan under his leadership. Majority of the respondents have stayed in San Juan for quite some time, as indicated in Table 1. A large minority

Table 1

Distribution of Respondents
by Length of Stay in San Juan

Duration	Number	Percent
One year or less	23	10.13
2 — 5 years	69	30.40
6 — 10 years	41	18.06
11 — 15 years	21	9.25
16 — 20 years	7	3.08
Over 20 years	53	23.35
All my life	13	5.73
Total	227	100.00
No response	21	

[3] See Arthur Hillman, *Community Organization and Planning* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 7.

(41.41 percent) have lived in San Juan for more than ten years. Newcomers who have lived in the area for a year or less constituted only 10.13 percent.

To gauge residential mobility, the location of their former place of residence was asked. Of the 248 respondents, 106 (51.21 percent) had moved and stayed within the confines of San Juan as presented in Table 2. Of these, 64 came from another area within San Juan, while 42 have moved from another house in the same place (district or barrio). Over 30 percent of the respondents (26.21 percent) came from another place in Metro Manila, while 17.39 percent came from other provinces. The residents then tend to be confirmed urbanites and to a slightly lesser extent, native San Juanites. Though most have experienced transfers of residence, few can be classified as migrants.

Table 2

Distribution of Respondents
According to Previous Place of Residence

Location	Number	Percent
Another place in San Juan	64	30.92
In the same place	42	20.29
A place in Metro Manila but outside San Juan	65	31.40
Another place in Luzon	29	14.01
A place in Visayas	5	2.42
A place in Mindanao	1	.48
A place outside the Philippines	1	.48
Total	207	100.00
No response	41	

The respondents were then asked what advantages they saw in staying in San Juan. As seen in Table 3, 63 respondents or 30.73 percent find San Juan relatively peaceful and a good residential area. Forty-four or 21.46 percent find San Juan convenient insofar as their work, study and such other day-to-day activities are concerned. Around 27 or 13.17 pecent reported that they are natives of San Juan, while 20 or 9.76 percent had put a premium

on their strong attachment to relatives as the reason for their residential stability.

Table 3

Percentage of Total Responses
on Reasons for Residential Stability*

Reasons	Number	Percent
Peacefulness of the place and other qualities	63	30.73
Convenient location	44	21.46
Natives of San Juan	27	13.17
Closeness to relatives	20	9.76
Others	51	24.88
Total	205	100.00
No response	43	

*Multiple responses permitted.

Familiarity or knowledge with the area can be gauged by various measures, one of which is their sensitivity to constraints and opportunities in the environment. The respondents in this survey were asked to indicate from a checklist of possible problems in an urban area the more serious problems in San Juan. Among the more pressing "economic" problems indicated, as presented in Table 4 were rising prices (68.55 percent); unemployment (36.69 percent) and poverty (32.66 percent); bomba movies (29.03 percent); crime (25.40 percent); education (25.40 percent); and housing (25.40 percent). Environmental problems which appeared high in this list include floods (63.31 percent); water pollution (32.26 percent); sanitation/garbage (28.63 percent); slums/squatters (27.42 percent); and air pollution (22.98 percent). The problems are of course clearly intertwined and the problems attendant to being poor tend to be very high on the list — unemployment, need for welfare assistance, the presence of slums, poverty itself. Even the complaint about rising prices are in this package. Clearly, massive government efforts to serve the poor people's needs are called for.

Table 4

Major Problems in San Juan
Identified by Respondents and Frequency
Count of Responses*

Problems Cited	Total Number	Percent
1. Rising Prices	170	68.55
2. Floods	157	63.31
3. Unemployment	91	36.69
4. Welfare assistance	81	32.66
5. Poverty	81	32.66
6. Water pollution	80	32.26
7. Bomba movies	72	29.03
8. Sanitation/garbage	71	28.63
9. Slums/squatters	68	27.42
10. Crime	63	25.40
11. Education	63	25.40
12. Housing	63	25.40
13. Overpopulation	60	24.19
14. Air pollution	57	22.98
15. Corruption	47	18.95
16. Drugs	43	17.34
17. Parks and recreation	43	17.34
18. Police protection	40	16.13
19. Public transportation	37	14.92
20. Adequate water supply	35	14.11
21. Traffic	35	14.11
22. Lack of government funds	32	12.90
23. Maintenance of streets	25	10.08
24. Strikes/demos	23	9.27
25. Adequate electricity	20	8.06
26. Citizens' apathy	18	7.26
27. Others	4	1.61

* Multiple responses allowed, N = 248.

Data on the socio-economic status of the respondents were deemed vital for this study in relation to a discussion on community participation at the latter part of this paper. Here we encountered the usual resistance about revealing this sensitive information: 133 or 53.63 percent skipped this question. Of the remaining 115 who indicated their total monthly income, 60 or 56.07 percent reported having a monthly income of ₱500 and

and below, while 30 respondents or 28.04 percent indicated a monthly income of more than ₱1,000. Twenty-five respondents or 15.89 percent reported an income within the ₱501 — ₱1,000 bracket. Table 5 shows the distribution of the responses. The figures thus indicate that many respondents would find difficulty making both ends meet. Low income is exacerbated by the fact that a number of respondents had fairly large families.

Table 5

Distribution of Respondents
by Monthly Income

Income Bracket	Number	Percent
₱240 or below	24	22.43
₱ 241 — ₱ 500	36	33.64
₱ 501 — ₱ 750	10	9.35
₱ 751 — ₱1,000	7	6.54
₱1,001 — ₱1,250	5	4.67
₱1,251 — ₱1,500	9	8.41
Above ₱1,500	16	14.96
Total	107	100.00
No response	141	

Almost three out of five reported an average family size of three to seven members, while 87 or 39.73 percent claimed to have eight or more in the household. Only nine respondents have two or less members. The figures are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Distribution of Respondents
by Number of Members in the Household

No. of Household Members	Number	Percent
2 or less	9	4.11
3 to 7	123	56.16
8 to 10	51	23.29
More than 10	36	16.44
Total	219	100.00
No response	29	

Table 7 shows that only 109 of the 248 respondents indicated their per capita income. Of these, 66 respondents (60.55 per-

cent) reported to have a per capita monthly income of ₱100 and below. Thirty-eight placed their per capita income within the ₱101 — ₱300 range. Only five respondents reported a per capita monthly income of above ₱300.00.

Table 7

Distribution of Respondents
By Per Capita Monthly Income

Amount	Number	Percent
₱ 50 or below	35	32.11
₱ 51 — ₱100	31	28.44
₱101 — ₱150	14	12.84
₱151 — ₱200	11	10.09
₱201 — ₱250	9	8.26
₱251 — ₱300	4	3.67
₱301 and above	5	4.59
Total	109	100.00
No response	139	

Closely correlated to per capita income is the type of occupation of the family heads. Table 8 shows that 119 of the respondents (64.67 percent) are engaged in unskilled, semi-skilled and clerical type of work, while 25 (13.59 percent) are engaged in some small business enterprise. Forty respondents (21.74 percent) are involved in some managerial or professional work.

Table 8

Distribution of Respondents
By Type of Occupation of Family Heads

Type of Occupation	Number	Percent
Unskilled or semi-skilled	47	25.54
Skilled	38	20.65
Clerical	34	18.48
Managerial	4	2.17
Professional	36	19.57
Small businessmen	25	13.59
Total	184	100.00
No response	164	

A large number of respondents did not obtain any college education. It can be seen from Table 9 that from the responses obtained only 58 out of the 248 respondents are college graduates.

Table 9

Distribution of Respondents
By Level of Educational Attainment
of Family Heads

Education Obtained	Number	Percent
No formal education	1	.54
Elementary but did not graduate	19	10.33
Elementary school graduate	12	6.52
High school but did not graduate	36	19.57
High school graduate	35	19.02
College but did not graduate	23	12.50
College graduate	58	31.52
Total	184	100.00
No response	64	

The incidence of non-response to some questions appeared quite high among the respondents, as can be seen from the tables presented. Hence, generalizations can only be made from the actual reported responses. Based on the data obtained, a rough picture of the typical respondent interviewed in this study can be drawn. As a whole, he would appear to be one who is married, 36-50 years old and who has been a long-term resident in San Juan. The occupation pursued by this respondent would either be of the unskilled, semi-skilled type or of the professional type of work. With regard to educational attainment, he may either be one who has finished college or high school or one who has obtained some secondary education. In terms of monthly income, our average respondent would tend to belong to the low income group (with a monthly income of ₱500 and a per capita monthly income of ₱100 at the maximum) and would be maintaining a medium-sized family of three to seven members.

Community Participation and Leadership in San Juan

The extent and nature of participation of this sample group of San Juanites in community projects and activities in San Juan were a major concern of the survey. As in any locality, there are always evidences of working together, of cooperation in varying degrees among individuals, community organizations and groupings. Accordingly, the following questions were asked of the respondents:

> Are there community-wide activities in this area? What kinds of activities are there? Who sponsors these activities? Do you participate actively in them? Do you help promote the interests of the community? Are there activities that you want to have here? Do you know of any organization in this community? Are you a member or an officer? Do you pay dues or contributions, attend meetings, cooperate in functions? Have these organizations done anything to improve conditions in the community? If so, what are these? How would you evaluate such programs? Would you say that people in this community are cooperative? If yes, in what ways do they show this?

Various research efforts point to different components of participation. Commonly cited are the following: voting in elections; campaign activity; discussion of public issues with one's family, friends or officials; membership in organizations and associations; participating in local educational or governmental issues; attendance at meetings devoted to consideration of community affairs; association with community officials and leaders; contacting public officials and other political leaders; reading political magazine articles; and reading the political news in daily newspapers.[4]

Based on the responses to the foregoing questions, civic and social life appears to be relatively active among the respondents. This is illustrated in their support for community civic projects and social activities in general, in their banding together into organizations and groups and in their favorable outlook towards cooperative action. More than half of the respondents (131) or 52.82 percent claimed that there are community-wide activities being undertaken in San Juan. The annual celebration of the

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[4] Wendell Bell, Richard Hill and Charles Wright, *Public Leadership* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1961), p. 21.

fiesta, which was mentioned by 41.13 percent of the respondents, appeared as the most popular community activity. The holding of sports games and the launching of health campaigns, cited by 33.06 percent and 27.82 percent respectively, ranked second and third in the community activities mentioned. Special programs put up occasionally appeared fourth. Table 10 presents the frequency of responses for each activity.

Table 10

Frequency Count of Community-Wide Activities Mentioned by the Respondents*

Activity	No. of Responses	Percent
Fiesta	102	41.13
Sports games	82	33.06
Health campaigns	69	27.82
Special program	38	15.32
Others	16	6.45
Total	307	100.00

* Multiple responses permitted.

Around 63 percent of the respondents viewed the people in San Juan as cooperative. Indicators for "cooperativeness" given by the respondents included mainly participation in community-based projects and activities and involvement in political campaigns during election time.

Slightly half of them (48.39 percent) answered positively the question,. "Do you help in the civic projects in San Juan?" Fifty-six respondents (22.58 percent) answered in the negative while 72 (29.03 percent) did not provide any answer. Because of this lack of response, not much substantive data were generated on membership and role of the respondents in community organizations and on their evaluation of benefits derived from these associational groupings.

Majority of the respondents (98.09 percent) answered positively the question, "Will you vote in the November 1971 elections?" Only three respondents answered negatively. Ninety-one respondents did not provide any answer. This appears to show moderate political participation through voting.

Table 11

Percentage of Responses to Question,
"Will you vote in the November 1971 elections?"

	Number	Percent
Yes	154	98.09
No	3	1.91
Total	157	100.00
No response	91	

It is also a common observation that there is always a varying proportion of individuals in a locality who participate only half-heartedly in the socio-civic life of a community and there are those who are totally uninvolved. Responses to the question, "Do you participate actively in these community-wide activities?" indicate that despite the existence of various community-wide activities in San Juan, 83 or 53.55 percent, i.e., joining only when their best friends go, or becoming involved in the sidelines, rather than taking the leadership, indicated non-active participation. While this is not a big number, it nonetheless represents a high proportion of the respondents and shows that participation in activities, and even leadership is widely dispersed. It may even be possible to infer that there would be positions available for anyone who is willing to give some time to the life and leisure of the community.

Table 12

Distribution of Respondents
By Extent of Involvement in Community-Wide Activities

	Number	Percent
Active Participants	72	46.45
Non-Active Participants	83	53.55
Total	155	100.00
No response	93	

Various researches on community participation have come up with the finding that social participation is a function of the

socio-economic status of the participants. As Nelson, *et al.* have noted:

> In the many studies of social participation one consistent finding has been the positive association of formal participation rates with certain variables that are measures of socio-economic status. The relationship between these variables and participation will differ from one community to another, so that status variables that appear to be most significant in one community may be least significant in another.[5]

Accordingly, a discussion of community participation would be incomplete without a word on the socio-economic status of the members. In trying to relate the SES (socio-economic status) variables and active participation in this study, 2 x 2 tables were made. However, as reflected from these tables, incidence of non-response was quite high among the respondents.

Previous research has also brought about the fact that the "upper-status" segment of the community participates more actively in community-wide endeavors.

> A tremendous amount of evidence has been compiled showing that participation in large formal organizations come mainly from middle and higher status groupings. Compared to non-participants, the members and those who attend meetings in large formal organizations have a higher educational attainment, have higher income, come from white collar rather than blue collar jobs, and have a higher level of living.[6]

Results gathered from the study appear to conform with this conclusion.

As can be seen from Table 13, for instance, percentage of active participants is a little higher than the percentage of non-active participants among those who have obtained at least some college education. The number of those who reached college in fact dominates the category of active participants. Conversely, there are more non-active participants than active participants among those who belong to the "medium" and "low" levels of education.

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[5] Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey and Coolie Verner, *Community Structure and Change* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 253.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Table 13

Educational Attainment of Family Heads and Active Participation in Community-Wide Activities

	High*		Medium		Low		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Active Participation	29	51.79	19	39.58	6	31.58	54
Non-active Participation	27	48.21	29	60.42	13	68.42	69
Total	56	100.00	48	100.00	19	100.00	123

*High — College graduates and those who reached minimum college education.

Medium — High school graduates and those who reached high school but did not graduate.

Low — Elementary school graduates and those who reached elementary but did not graduate; included here also those who did not have any formal education.

It can also be similarly noted from Table 14 that there are more active participants than non-active participants among those belonging to the managerial and professional group. A higher

Table 14

Occupation of Family Heads and Active Participation in Community-Wide Activities

	High*		Medium		Low		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Active Participation	14	58.33	19	48.72	17	32.08	50
Non-active Participation	10	41.67	20	51.28	36	67.92	66
Total	24	100.00	39	100.00	53	100.00	116

*High — Respondents belonging to the managerial and professional group.

Medium — Those holding clerical jobs and those engaged in some small business enterprise.

Low — Those engaged in skilled, unskilled or semi-skilled type of work.

percentage of non-active participants can be seen among those engaged in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled type of work. Among the 59 respondents who are holding clerical jobs or who are engaged in some small business enterprise, there is a slightly higher percentage of non-active participants than active participants.

In terms of per capita income, data show that a higher percentage of active participants is seen among those who have "high" and "medium" per capita monthly income. In the "low" per capita income group, there were more non-active participants than active participants.

Table 15

Per Capita Income of Respondents
and Active Participation in Community-Wide Activities

	High*		Medium		Low		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Active Participation	8	57.14	11	61.11	22	47.83	41
Non-active Participation	6	42.86	7	38.89	24	52.17	37
Total	14	100.00	18	100.00	46	100.00	78

*High — Those who have a per capita income of ₱301 and above, ₱251-₱300, and ₱201-₱250.

Medium — Those who have a per capita income between ₱151 — ₱200 and ₱101-₱150.

Low — Those respondents with a per capita income between ₱51 — ₱100 and ₱50 and below.

Lastly, from the responses given, a higher percentage of active participants can also be seen among those who have stayed for at least six years in San Juan (high and medium), while percentage of non-active participants was higher among those who have stayed in the place for five years or less (low).

Table 16

Length of Residence in San Juan
and Active Participation in Community-Wide Activities

	High*		Medium		Low		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Active Participation	24	51.06	22	57.89	22	36.67	68
Non-active participation	23	48.94	16	42.11	38	63.33	77
Total	47	100.00	38	100.00	60	100.00	145

*High — Those who have stayed in their present place of residence for life; for over 20 years; and for 16-20 years.

Medium — Those who have resided for 11-15 years in the area or those who have stayed for 6-10 years.

Low — Those who have stayed for 2 to 5 years or for only a year or those who have stayed for 6-10 years.

Conceivably, however, the success of any group endeavor would not thrive from the support of only a few constituents. The climate for effective cooperative action in a community would largely be enhanced by actually working together as a group.[7] This can be realized in community-wide activities and projects where interaction between individuals, community groupings and organizations take place. Successful implementation of community projects and activities would depend to a large degree upon the capacity of the leaders to encourage and sustain joint action and upon their ability to tap and harness the energies of the various members into profitable ventures.

> In large measure the ability of leaders to enlist community-wide support in major decisions depends on the political structure of the community and the extent to which citizens use their political resources.[8]

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[7] Burton W. Kreitlow, E. W. Aiton and Andrew P. Torrence, *Leadership for Action in Rural Communities* (Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1960), p. 162.

[8] Robert Vance Presthus, *Men At The Top* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 282.

To be able come up with a "leadership array" in San Juan, the following open-ended questions were included in the questionnaire:

> Who are the persons you respect most in the community?
>
> In some places, there is a group of men who run the community and make the important decisions for the people, is there such a group in the community? If yes, who are these people?
>
> Who sponsors community-wide activities in this area?
>
> If I want to sponsor a community activity, whose help should I ask to make sure the program will be a success?
>
> If you need a favor from a politician or a government office, are there some persons in the community who can help you? Is he a civil leader, politician, etc.?
>
> Who are the persons you respect most in the community? Do you know him personally? Is he a civic leader, politician, etc.?

In the survey, the civic leaders are perceived by the respondents to be at the top of the hierarchy of leaders in San Juan. In particular, they are appreciated for initiating community-wide activities and for launching socio-civic projects in the locality. In this respect, special mention must be made of the highly valuable support of the members of the San Juan Municipal Development Council and later, of the San Juan Progress Foundation in the completion of many projects during the administration of Mayor Estrada. Complementing the efforts of these structures are other civic organizations which have given enthusiastic support to community-wide endeavors, among which are the following: San Juan Lions Club; San Juan Jaycees; Rotary Club of San Juan; San Juan Lioness Club; Order of the Knights of Rizal — San Juan Chapter; Citizens Committee of San Juan; San Juan Youth Council; Federation of Youth Club; Mothers' Club of San Juan; San Juan Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Barangay Club of San Juan; and the Knights of Columbus. Mayor Estrada himself openly acknowledges the able support of this particular segment of the municipality.

Like any system of social relationships, the organization of a community has a locus of authority somewhere.[9] As seen in

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[9]Peter H. Rossi, "Power and Community Structure," in Terry N. Clark (ed.), *Community Structure and Decision-making — Comparative Analysis* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 136.

Table 1 in the first chapter,[10] the civic leaders were cited as the group of men who "run the community and make the important decisions" in San Juan, ahead of political, administrative and religious leaders. This reply, in giving volunteer leaders precedence over elected and appointed officials reinforces our contention that community-wide participation in the affairs of San Juan is accepted at least as a desired norm, if not in actuality. When implementation is at issue, however, the political officials get the nod. Yet the role of the civic leader and the administrator is also acknowledged by their almost equal endorsement. Joint action among these various groups of leaders has undoubtedly contributed, as Mayor Estrada says, in the over-all effort "in making San Juan the model municipality it is at present."

Indeed, the community and the leader are so interdependent that one can say that no community exists without leaders.[11] The joint support among the various groups of leaders in the San Juan community holds a promising picture of a dynamic and a cohesive community life.

> The essential test of effectiveness becomes the extent and voluntary character of group participation induced by leaders.[12]

Conclusion

The governance of San Juan is acknowledged by the Mayor as a joint effort between the government and the citizens. In this chapter, we have looked intensively at the profile of San Juan. For the most part, they are low- and middle-income people with average-sized families involved in living from day to day and worried about the usual problems that concern the less fortunate segments of the society.

However, we also find that what they say about the citizens of San Juan is true. While there remains a majority who are not participating actively in community life, the number who claim to be so involved is a large minority. When we speak of electoral participation — before compulsory voting — over 90 percent are planning to vote. True, the participants as in other

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10 *Supra*, p. 6.
11 Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
12 Hillman, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

places are the better-off rather than the masses. Still the active participation is heartwarming. Even the masses realize this when they attribute community leadership to civic leaders who engage in community projects on a completely voluntary basis.

The supportive role extended by the various segments of the community to municipal development efforts is discussed in later chapters of this volume. Illustrative of joint ventures between the community and the government are several major completed projects in San Juan which tangibly speak of achievement. The general improvement of the physical environment, specifically, the launching of "Operation *Linis*," the renovation of the Pinaglabanan Shrine and the cementing and repair of roads can be cited as one big collaborative effort spearheaded by the municipal government together with the private citizens of San Juan with, however, the citizens not attributing success only to government, but openly acknowledging the share of leaders of other sectors in their completion. The projects undertaken during this period speak concretely of this happy cooperation. The construction of the *Liwasang Munti* (Mini-Park) in 1970 and the establishment of the first municipal high school in San Juan in 1971 had been made into reality by the open support given by the community members. Additionally, the celebration of Pinaglabanan Day in August 1970, the holding of a Lantern of Joy in cooperation with the San Juan Jaycees in December 1970, the municipal-wide *Pabasa* during the Holy Week, and the *Santacruzan* in April and May of 1971 respectively, as well as the Mini-Olympics in 1971 were likewise occasions when various groups in San Juan joined hands in successfully undertaking activities for the entire town. The socio-civic life of the San Juanites has likewise been enlivened by the support of the more prominent citizens in the community made possible through two existing structures in San Juan, namely, the San Juan Municipal Development Council and the San Juan Progress Foundation.

Indeed, the joint venture forged successfully by Mayor Joseph Estrada between the municipal government and the various sectors in the community emerges as one of the strengths of his administration. More importantly, participation at the grassroots level which has been strongly encouraged by the Mayor himself is another plus factor. The turn-out at the 1971 municipal elections can be seen as a further affirmation of faith of the San Juanites in the man and in his capacity as their leader.

Chapter IV

Looking Back at Old Town: Politics and Leaders

VICENTA C. RIMANDO

A "new townish" quality of San Juan used to be reflected in elections of the pre-war years. Politics at that time was marked by rivalry between Marikina migrants and San Juan natives. Flying voters from Marikina, Mandaluyong and Santolan trooped in huge numbers to San Juan every election day. A residence at that time had as many as 30 voters on election day!

In the postwar years, most of the protagonists considered themselves San Juan natives. The struggle for power took place between the old Nacionalista Party (NP) and the Liberal Party (LP) which emerged on the national scene only after independence. For the most part it was the reign of the Nacionalista Party.

The names of Engracio Santos, Nicanor Ibuna and Braulio Sto. Domingo are the most important when one speaks of the pre-1969 struggle for leadership in the San Juan municipal government. There were other political participants but none as prominent as they.

The first elected mayor of San Juan was Engracio Santos, a Liberal. Prior to his election in 1947, he had been mayor for five years, the first four years from 1935-1938 and again in 1946 when he was appointed to the same position by the late President Manuel A. Roxas.[1]

Born in San Juan, Rizal on March 22, 1898, to Flaviano Santos and Ciriaca Enriquez, Engracio became mayor at the age of

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1 San Juan (Rizal), Office of the Mayor, *Informational Data of San Juan, Rizal, January, 1972.*

37. He married Pelagia Reyes of Candaba, Pampanga with whom he has five children.

After graduating from high school, he worked as a clerk in the Bureau of Customs until 1935 when he was considered for appointment as mayor of his hometown. Then Congressman Magsalin visited him in his house one day and invited him to see President Roxas, who at that time was Senate President. Introductions followed and on that same occasion he was offered the position.[2]

Santos started his elective stint with an all-Liberal council and a Vice-Mayor. The NP started to gain ground only in 1951 when its candidates for Vice-Mayor and five out of eight councilors were elected.[3]

Construction of the public market located at N. Domingo Street was undertaken during the administration of Santos. The San Juan Elementary School building was also constructed during his term. He was also instrumental in asphalting as many as three-fourths of the municipal streets like P. Parada, A. Bonifacio, Rizal, M. Miranda, A.P. Santos, etc.[4]

It was relatively easy to push through proposed projects and programs during his first term because he enjoyed all-out support from the municipal council. After the 1951 elections things became difficult for the mayor. Five of his councilors were unseated by the Nacionalista candidates. "The council," he said, "always blocked or opposed whatever projects I have in mind. They were afraid that if I accomplished some more, people might reelect me in the next elections." The purchase of a one-and-a-half hectare cemetery site was initiated by Mayor Santos but it could not materialize because of strong opposition from the council.[5]

His problems mounted on the third year of his term (as elected mayor), especially when an administrative charge was filed against him before the Pasig Court of First Instance (CFI). From

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[2]Interview with Engracio Santos, ex-mayor (LP) of San Juan, Rizal, December 5, 1974.

[3]Accounts based on the records and statistics of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC).

[4]Interview with Engracio Santos, ex-mayor (LP) of San Juan, Rizal, December 5, 1974.

[5] *Ibid.*

all appearances the charge was politically motivated. In effect Santos took a voluntary leave of absence to attend to his case. Mariano Domingo, No. 1 councilor, assumed the post in an acting capacity from February 26 until March 14, 1954 when Vice-Mayor Nicanor Salaysay returned from abroad.

Beginning March 15, 1954, Nicanor Salaysay exercised the mayoral functions but his incumbency was shortlived. In June of the same year he was charged with maladministration, specifically extortion and bribery. Like Santos, Salaysay took a leave of absence to iron out conflicts with his political enemies who had initiated the case against him. For the second time, Mariano Domingo acted as head of the government until August of the same year when Engracio Santos was reinstated. The CFI had sentenced Engracio Santos to 22 years imprisonment. However, when his case was elevated to the Court of Appeals for reconsideration, it decided the case in his favor.

After his reinstatement, Santos was again subjected to another investigation for the same charges, this time by a Malacañang committee of three. Their recommendations were unfavorable to him; consequently he was suspended. Again Councilor Mariano Domingo took over as acting mayor until April 10, 1955. Soon after, Vice-Mayor Salaysay's case was cleared and he resumed office as acting mayor up to the last day of Santos' term.[6]

1955 was the year of the Nacionalista Party; that year it captured the positions of mayor, vice-mayor and seven seats in the council. It was to be in control of the government until 1967 although two council seats were won by the Liberals in the 1959 and 1963 elections.

In his bid for reelection, Santos lost the mayoralty to Nicanor Ibuna. Ibuna is a man of humble beginnings. A native of San Juan, he was born on April 3, 1911. His father, a cook, hailed from Aklan while his mother was a resident of Marikina. Married to Pacita Soriano from Marikina, Ibuna had seven children. He was a self-supporting student while pursuing his Bachelor of Laws at the Manila Law College. He was then an outstand-

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6Interviews with Engracio Santos, Braulio Sto. Domingo, Calixto Dungo, Nicanor Salaysay, Pedro Perey, and Mariano Domingo.

ing school athlete having won several medals as a long distance runner.

Ibuna started working as a laborer at the Magdalena Estate and later landed a job at the then Department of Public Works and Communications where he rose to the rank of a *capataz* (foreman). Then President Quezon, taking notice of his industry and ability offered him work at a construction project in Baler, Tayabas (now Quezon). It must have been this association with President Quezon that made Ibuna train his sights on a life of politics. Ibuna's political involvement began in 1955 and continued to last for twelve years.[7]

Though a relative newcomer to politics, Ibuna's victory was not surprising in view of his strong support. In his maiden bid, Ibuna was backed by the Iglesia ni Kristo (INK), a local sect with headquarters in San Juan, and Braulio Sto. Domingo, a prominent physician with close ties to the Iglesia.

The 1959 local election was a return bout for Santos and Ibuna. As in 1955, Ibuna had the full support of the INK and Sto. Domingo. Four other candidates vied for the post but the real fight was between Santos and Ibuna. Ibuna defeated Santos for the second time by a small margin of 242 votes.[8]

In 1963 Sto. Domingo and Ibuna parted ways because of "personal reasons."[9]

Braulio Sto. Domingo known throughout San Juan as "Doctor Boyong" was born on March 26, 1910, a son of Marikina natives. His father, Benito Sto. Domingo was engaged in business while his mother, Serafia Guevarra, remained a full-time housewife. Sto. Domingo is married to Bonifacia Eustaquia, also from Marikina. They have eight children.

From his early years he aimed at nothing more than becoming a doctor of medicine. Direct involvement in politics was

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7 Interview with Gerardo Payno, Municipal Secretary of San Juan, Rizal (1959-1967), November 18, 1974.

8 Records of the COMELEC.

9 Interview with Braulio Sto. Domingo.

remote from his mind until he became disillusioned with the candidates he supported. Sto. Domingo was 57 years old when he finally decided to play the game himself.[10]

In the local elections that followed Sto. Domingo clashed with Ibuna for the mayorship although both were under the NP banner. Engracio Santos, unshaken by two consecutive defeats, fought the third time. For the third time Ibuna was still the winner. This was how they fared:

Nicanor Ibuna	— 8,048 votes
Braulio Sto. Domingo	— 6,238 "
Engracio Santos	— 4,679 "[11]

The successive victories of Ibuna did not prevent Sto. Domingo from seeking another rematch. Thrice repudiated at the polls, Santos, on the other hand, quit the race for good.

In their second clash, however, Dr. Sto. Domingo had acquired another source of support. He was wooed and won by the Liberal Party — long a loser at the polls, and in 1967, Sto. Domingo consented to be its standard bearer. In addition, he won the support of the INK which allegedly wanted to depose the incumbent Mayor Ibuna (whom it had supported through two reelections) because of conflicts involving police matters. He had a long list of issues against the Ibuna administration. In one of his speeches, he alleged:

> Residents of this municipality have suffered too much for so long under the Nacionalista administration. In the name of justice and for failing to keep faith with the people it must be changed.
>
> The present administration...failed to repair roads and bridges, illuminate dark streets or remedy often clogged market drainage system. It has not improved public health and garbage collection.... It has not shown a vision of face-lifting the town.
>
> It has not implemented school reforms such as the construction of additional school buildings and classrooms... hiring of more teachers....
>
> It has not minimized criminality. There is no peace and order. It has been coddling gambling joints, night clubs and prostitution dens. Public officials make a mockery of justice.

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[10]Interview with Braulio Sto. Domingo, former mayor (NP and later LP) of San Juan, from 1967-1969, October 8, 1973; December 5, 1974.

[11]Records of the COMELEC.

It never took the initiative to eliminate water lilies clogging San Juan river — these lilies caused flashfloods which took high toll on the lives of the people."[12]

The Ibuna years, of course, were not a period of completely negative accomplishments. Although many of Sto. Domingo's criticisms could not be denied, Ibuna had a number of achievements to his name. He was able to initiate the concreting of municipal roads in San Juan. He was also responsible for the acquisition of a municipal cemetery in Barrio Crame. Before that, the dead of San Juan were buried in the Mandaluyong cemetery.

Ibuna was also able to construct the municipal hall from a wooden structure to a semi-concrete building, four times its original size. A mini-stage and a Rizal monument were additional features of the new building. A motor pool, right behind the municipal building was another project of Mayor Ibuna. And for the first time, five mobile units, four for the police force and one for the municipal secretary were acquired by the municipal government.[13]

The 1967 elections returned the Liberals to power after twelve long years. Braulio Sto. Domingo led the vice-mayor and four councilors in the LP's attempt to reclaim San Juan.

It was a hard blow for the NPs; they were able to retain only two seats in the council. The two others were won by independent candidates.

Experience during this period showed that independent parties and candidates stood a slim chance, if at all, against these two powerful political parties. Their resources and experience were more than sufficient to topple partyless or independent aspirants. In the final counting of votes, the independents were always way below the winners.

In 1959 the Progressive Party of the Philippines put up a complete slate of candidates and suffered a hundred percent mortality. In 1967 the San Juan Citizens' League for Good Govern-

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12 "What They Think — of Poll Issues in San Juan," *Manila Chronicle*, October 7, 1967, p. 22.

13 Interview with Gerardo Payno, November 18, 1974.

ment had six candidates for councilor and a vice-mayor. They all met the same fate.[14]

But sometimes even giants fall. As it turned out, the Liberal victory in 1967 was short-lived. The COMELEC count indeed showed that Sto. Domingo had decisively beaten Ibuna, gaining 7,926 votes to the latter's 6,699. But a third candidate had entered the picture: Joseph Estrada. In that first counting, he stood only 44 votes away from Sto. Domingo.

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[14]Accounts based on the records and statistics of the COMELEC.

Chapter V

Politics on the Eve of Martial Law: Electoral Politics and Pressure Groups

PERLA E. LEGASPI

Enter Joseph Estrada

In May 1967, Joseph Estrada, movie idol, four-time FAMAS awardee, and producer of box-office hits came to a turning point in his life. "I know who put me where I am now: the *bakya* crowd.[1] It's time for me to repay them by serving them." To his mind, the way to serve the poor people was by running for public office. Estrada was not the first entertainment luminary to turn to politics with that explanation. In 1957, the reigning matinee idol then won a Senate seat and later even ventured for the Presidency. A popular radio announcer served in both the lower and upper houses. As many as ten other movie, radio and TV stars had been elected to local offices in the Metro Manila area. Thus backed by then Congressman (later Senator) Eddie Ilarde who had been a popular radio-TV star, Joseph Estrada decided to seek the mayorship of San Juan under the LP banner.

Although Joseph Estrada Ejercito was born in Tondo, Manila on April 19, 1937, he grew up in San Juan, Rizal where his family had established its residence. His father, Emilio Ejercito, is a civil engineer by profession while his mother, Maria Marcelo, is a teacher in music and culinary arts. The family is devout Catholic.

The young Ejercito finished his elementary schooling at St.

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[1] The *bakya* crowd refers derisively to the people who patronize Filipino movies, in an allusion to the footwear worn by the poor — wooden clogs instead of shoes.

John's Academy in San Juan. He was at the Ateneo de Manila for the first three years of high school but graduated at the Mapua Institute of Technology. Initially, he enrolled in Mechanical Engineering courses at the same Institute but later on transferred to the Polytechnic Colleges of the Philippines. On his third year, he was given a break at the movies by Champion Pictures as an "extra" in the movie *Kandilang Bakal.* Like other "old families" the Ejercitos did not take kindly to a son being in the movies and Joseph, as a compromise used the name Estrada for his screen surname. A succession of roles followed until his moustache, penetrating look and hard punches made many a Joseph Estrada starrer a box office hit and a candidate in the yearly FAMAS derby.

When the Iglesia ni Kristo learned about Estrada's decision, he was summoned to the Palace by the *Iglesia Supremo,* Eraño Manalo, who asked him to withdraw from the race in favor of Sto. Domingo. Estrada would not yield; he asked instead to be able to fight it out in a party convention. According to Estrada, the LP leaders agreed to his proposal. However, they later disregarded it and proclaimed Sto. Domingo as their official candidate for mayor of San Juan, allegedly after a compromise with the Iglesia regarding the national senatorial slate.

The move caught Estrada by surprise and placed him in a dilemma. He felt that the citizens of San Juan were tired of the two political parties, the Nacionalistas (NP) and the Liberals (LP). In his estimate, Ibuna and Sto. Domingo were candidates of these two big parties and as old *politicos*, could not possibly be offering to the electorate a new era in politics. Because of this, Estrada decided to push through his candidacy as an independent. In lieu of a party, he launched the Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino (KBP) on August 29, 1967. The KBP which he organized was viewed by Estrada not as a party but as a movement for political reforms.[2]

Likewise, through the efforts of Guia Gomez Estrada, the Pink Ladies of San Juan Association was organized into a political campaign arm. This was a women's counterpart of the KBP. The Pink Ladies served as morale boosters of the independent party.

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[2] Interview with Mayor Joseph Estrada, August 10, 1972.

As the campaign progressed, a University of the Philippines (U.P.) poll showed Estrada to be running neck-to-neck with Ibuna, the NP official candidate. Sto. Domingo was trailing behind. Likewise, the Iglesia conducted its own poll survey.

Despite what was described to be a relatively peaceful campaign, San Juan was placed under PC control. The town police force was disarmed and many civilians with firearms roamed the community. This situation contributed to the tense atmosphere as election day drew near.

Three days before November 14, election day, Estrada was reportedly offered the support of the Iglesia ni Kristo provided he junk his vice-mayoral and six councilor candidates in favor of the Iglesia candidates in the Sto. Domingo ticket. However, Estrada refused to abandon his running mates despite the fact that the offer would more or less insure his winning. On November 13, a list of "excluded voters" was issued to the precincts by a judge from the Court of First Instance in Pasig. This was denounced by the Estrada camps as an Iglesia move. Voters were excluded on grounds of non-residence and other points of disqualification.

On election day, many voters were confused and could not locate their names in the proper registry books. Thus, aside from those included in the list of "excluded voters," many others were disenfranchised in San Juan.

After the elections of November 14, 1967, Dr. Sto. Domingo was proclaimed the new mayor of San Juan.

The Estrada Protest Case[3]

After the proclamation of winners by the municipal board of canvassers on December 31, 1967, Estrada claimed that he received phone calls from irate citizens telling him that he was cheated. Hence, on January 12, 1968, he filed a protest with the Court of First Instance of Rizal seeking the voiding of some votes counted in favor of Dr. Sto. Domingo as well as seeking a count in his favor of certain ballots invalidated by the election

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[3] This case study is based mainly on two articles of Nick Joaquin: (1) "His Winning Performance," *Philippines Free Press*, August 16, 1969, p. 3; (2) "Judge On the Ball" *Philippines Free Press*, November 16, 1968, p. 4.

inspectors. On January 23, Dr. Sto. Domingo likewise filed a counter-protest questioning the validity of some votes cast in favor of Estrada and the invalidation of certain ballots cast for him.

The case was heard in the sala of Rizal CFI Judge Andres Reyes. To expedite the hearing, the judge appointed two sets of commissioners to make a physical inventory of all the ballot boxes from San Juan and to conduct a physical count and revision of the votes. The retallied ballots came out as 7,922 votes for Estrada and 7,910 for Sto. Domingo, constituting a small lead of twelve votes for the former.

However, upon recount of the ballots, the commissioners invalidated 160 votes for mayor carrying only the name Boyong; nine ballots that carried no vote for mayor but which had been credited to Dr. Sto. Domingo; and three "stray" votes that had been credited to Estrada. This resulted in the revised totals of 7,919 votes for Estrada and 7,741 votes for Sto. Domingo. The lead of Estrada had therefore widened to 178 votes.

The case was submitted by the commissioners for decision on August 27. But the counsel for Dr. Sto. Domingo filed a petition for a reopening of the case, claiming that he had evidence to show that some of the contested ballots had been tampered with after the recount of the commissioners. Thus, Judge Reyes granted a new hearing in which, however, he ruled out the petition brought before him.[4]

The judge then handed down a decision on October 29, 1968, proclaiming Joseph Estrada the Mayor of San Juan duly elected on November 14, 1967 with a plurality of 192 votes — 7,872 votes for Estrada and 7,680 votes for Sto. Domingo. The proclamation of Sto. Domingo was therefore annulled by the court.

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4 The basis for the petition was an affidavit signed by a Muntinlupa policeman declaring that sometime in June he had seen a man opening one of the San Juan ballot boxes and taking out an envelope.

Judge Reyes ruled out the petition on the ground that if it were true that the Muntinlupa policeman had seen a man open one of the ballot boxes, why did it take him around two months to report the incident, considering that it was his duty to guard the San Juan ballot boxes?

The case, though, was far from over. Dr. Sto. Domingo was served with the decision on October 30, 1968. Legally, he had five days in which to appeal the decision to a higher court; otherwise, the decision would become executory. The period in which he could have made an appeal was from October 30 to November 4, 1968. Instead of elevating the case to the Court of Appeals, he filed a motion for reconsideration with Judge Reyes, with a hearing on November 9.

Estrada likewise filed a counter-motion to dismiss the motion of Dr. Sto. Domingo on the ground that "by not complying with the rules, i.e., notifying the other party, the Sto. Domingo motion was a mere scrap of paper, was part of a pattern of delay, was not sanctioned by the Revised Election Code, which permitted only an appeal not a motion for reconsideration."

The hearing of Sto. Domingo's and Estrada's counter-motions suffered several postponements. Finally, the ruling on these motions was given on November 25, 1968:

> The Sto. Domingo motion for reconsideration was not in order, first because it was not authorized by the Election Code; second, it merely repeated the contents of a previous memorandum; and third, it was fatally defective according to the Rules of Court.

Upon notification of the ruling of Judge Reyes, Estrada took his oath of office as Mayor of San Juan before a notary public that same morning.

He also exercised immediately his powers as Mayor by appointing a municipal secretary, issuing a directive to all heads of offices to deal only with him or his secretary, and calling the members of the municipal council to a meeting.

On the very same morning, the counsel of Sto. Domingo produced before the court a writ of injunction issued by the Court of Appeals, restraining Judge Reyes from making his decision executory.

Estrada was served the restraining order from the Court of Appeals towards noon of the same day. This prevented him from further exercising mayoral powers.

Dr. Sto. Domingo charged before the Court of Appeals that Judge Reyes "by denying the doctor's motion for reconsideration,

had abused his discretion and exceeded the limits of his authority."

On the other hand, Estrada argued that Judge Reyes had accommodated the doctor by setting and resetting, postponing and re-postponing hearings at the request of Sto. Domingo. Furthermore, the Judge had laid down his ruling on the doctor's motion in detail showing that he had carefully studied it.

It took more than two months for the Court of Appeals to make a decision on the case. On February 13, 1969, the Court of Appeals, voting 3-2 decided that Judge Reyes "had acted with grave abuse of discretion in not resolving on its merits the Sto. Domingo motion for reconsideration," and nullified the order of Judge Reyes to make his decision final and executory.

Estrada's plea for reconsideration was also rejected after three months. Finally, he appealed to the Supreme Court.

On July 29, 1969, the Court voting unanimously, rebuked the order of the Court of Appeals and sustained the decision of Judge Reyes. It ruled that the Court of Appeals had "prematurely" issued an order of restraint on November 25, 1968 and had, therefore, gravely abused its discretion. The Supreme Court stated:

> Decisions or orders of court must be kept inviolate until promulgated or released. No opportunity should be afforded unscrupulous litigants — or those with power and influence to go to court employees and by insidious means or even bribery acquire advance information on the desired decision or order of the court. Some such occurrence as has happened in this case should be stamped out. A contrary proposition would breed graft and corruption and erode confidence in the administration of justice.

Moreover, Justice Antonio Barredo, in a separate concurring opinion, was of the view that "only appeal not motions for reconsideration, should be allowed in election cases, to reduce dilatory tactics, the worst bane of the institution of suffrage and a major cause of the dwindling of the people's faith in the administration of justice."

On the issue of Judge Reyes' competence, the Supreme Court also ruled that the Judge "was not remiss in his duty. His order meets the rigid standards expected of his judicial position. The fact is that the Judge's duty under the premises was

to grant or deny. He did deny." In conclusion, the highest court declared: "we are satisfied that our decision here does not defeat the expressed will of the electorate of San Juan."

The case of Joseph Estrada has hopefully set a new pattern for election protests. The case was decided speedily by the courts giving Estrada enough of his term of office to carry out and push through his goals and projects. The usual election protest often ends after or on the eve of the next elections. In addition, his victory in the polls proved that a partyless candidate can still win an election. Apparently, the electorate of San Juan is independent-minded and not party-conscious. Finally, the Estrada case brought to light the so-called power and force of the Iglesia ni Kristo in Philippine politics.

Before the decision took effect, Joseph Estrada sent an emissary to the house of Dr. Sto. Domingo and made amends with him. Estrada arranged for a peaceful turn-over. Thus, on August 5, Estrada walked arm-in-arm with Dr. Sto. Domingo from N. Domingo St. to the town hall. Estrada took his second oath of office before a big crowd in front of the municipal hall. Before the townspeople, he presented his program of administration which offered to professionalize the police force, to open a public high school, to build a modern two-storey market, and to reactivate barrio organizations. Above all, he urged every citizen to unite, work and cooperate towards the common goal of making a better San Juan.

The Local Elections of 1971

In 1971, Dr. Sto. Domingo ran again for mayor of San Juan against incumbent Mayor Estrada. This time, however, Estrada won by a big majority: 22,000 votes against 4,492 votes cast for Dr. Sto. Domingo. All the other KBP candidates — eight councilors and the Vice-Mayor — were also victorious.

Thus, the Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino, an independent party which made its first appearance only in 1967, toppled the two political giants. It won a straight ticket, the first ever to happen in the entire history of Philippine politics.[5]

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[5] In 1959, candidates of the League for Good Government in Quezon City, another reform group, all won electoral council seats. However, it fielded only six out of eight council slots, and did not have any mayoral and vice-mayoral bets.

In San Juan as in most Philippine towns, candidates relied on a combination of money, alliances and the strength of their own personality to propel them toward victory. Rarely is policy invoked, except in the broadest of terms. Where specific promises are made, they are quickly forgotten. Besides, candidates of all parties tended to present the same ideas anyway.

Money was an important factor. Vote-buying was rampant and dole-outs in cash or kind were not unusual. People were fed unabatedly throughout the day for several days. In house-to-house campaigns cash went with every handshake. This extravagant flow of money was typical of San Juan even before the war. It is rare to find a deserving but less moneyed aspirant make it at the polls unless he secures the support of a powerful financier.[6] It may be noted that in this town most of those who sought office came from the grassroots or the common *tao* group. However, most were driven more by economic and personal motives rather than by the desire to serve the public interest. San Juan citizens have been disappointed many times — they supported a barber's candidacy for instance, with the expectation that he would emerge as a true representative of the masses. Once elected, however, he became very corrupt and served few interests beyond his own.[7]

Another significant factor is one's network of alliances. Important even when strong structural and role differentiations have already developed, particularistic ties are especially ever-activated in transitional settings like San Juan's. We have already seen how a person's "hometown" creates almost an instant following. This appears to be so even if he had actually lived in San Juan all his life, so long as he claims to be a native son of another locality. Thus the strong native-migrant differentiation in the pre-war years and even after. Family and mutual kinship alliances are also useful, sometimes both ways. For instance, a first cousin of a ranking LP candidate who campaigned for the KBP seemed to have made a greater impact than close relatives of some KBP candidates themselves.

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6 Interview with Atty. Eugenio Maclang, former councilor (LP) of San Juan, from 1947-51 and from 1959-1963, October 24, 1973.

7 Interview with Dr. Braulio Sto. Domingo, former Mayor (NP and later LP) of San Juan, from 1967-1969, October 8, 1973.

The political party also has some effects. Often, however, the party is simply a label for a leader's personal coterie and he defines and limits its platform, rather than the other way around. Nevertheless, party membership aids in extra-local matters, since it provides access to national and provincial leaders who can give much-needed financial support. This was not available to a purely local party such as the KBP. Yet it won over the national parties which had old roots in San Juan. It is to this "upstart group" that we now turn.

The Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino (KBP)

The victory of the whole slate of the KBP political party in the 1971 local elections had made political history. Despite the fact that the KBP was only four years old at the time, it won over the LP and NP, both established national parties.

Yet only the vice-mayor and three councilors — Arturo de Guzman, Calixto Dungo and Pedro Santos, Jr. — may be considered to be "veteran" politicians. Pablo Angeles, a Liberal since 1963 was elected councilor in the same year and vice-mayor in 1967. Arturo de Guzman was an NP councilor in 1959 and LP councilor in 1963 and 1967. Calixto Dungo was an NP councilor for four consecutive terms (1955, 1959, 1963, and 1967) and Pedro Santos, Jr. was an elected councilor under the LP banner in 1955 and 1959. Two others were relative newcomers: Francisco Galang and Severo Pacheco were elected NP councilors in 1967.

The rest of the-line up are freshmen in the political field. Elsa Escano is a civic-spirited citizen who was very much involved in social work and community projects in San Juan before her bid for a council seat. She is married to a media consultant of Meralco and T.V. Channel 13. Genaro Aventajado is a licensed general contractor and a businessman. He is also active in civic and social organizations having been elected president, director and chairman of such organizations. On the other hand, Henry de Costra is the President and General Manager of Kas-Tom Industries, Inc. and the Chairman of the Board of MDC & Associates. He is also an active member of several business, religious and civic associations.

Estrada is considered to be an independent politician. He was not identified with any national party (LP and NP) during the local elections. The KBP which he organized did not re-

ceive any kind of support from national politicians. Campaign funds and contributions from supporters came from local sources. Moreover their campaign did not tackle national issues but emphasized purely local matters. The focus, particularly, was on the achievements of the Mayor for two years. In other words, what was at stake was the performance of the local executive. Seemingly, the electorate of San Juan was convinced enough of the capacity of Estrada as a mayor to give him and his whole party an overwhelming majority over their opponents. Even his running mates attributed the victory of the entire slate to the popularity of Joseph Estrada, the standard bearer.[8]

The KBP Organization and Platform

After failing to get the LP nomination for mayor of San Juan, Joseph Estrada decided to run as an independent. With the help of then Congressman Eddie Ilarde of Rizal and Quezon City Councilor Mario Montenegro, he organized on August 29, 1967 the Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino. Initially, there were around 6,000 card-bearing members (4,000 males and 2,000 females) which later on increased to 25,000 members.[9]

Since the KBP was viewed as a party for political reforms, the platform was for good government and service to the community. In addition, the KBP stressed a redirection of values, with "change as a factor of progress — doing away with old and stagnant traditions such as the *mañana* habit, *ningas-kugon*, boastful acts and the like."[10]

During the municipal election of 1967, the KBP members made an inventory of the names and addresses of the electorate and a house-to-house campaign was conducted. This strategy, coupled with the actor's popularity, might have spelled the advantage for Estrada. In fact, his "idol-image" was projected by sending pictures of him mingling with his fans and supporters to every household.

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[8] Interview with Pablo Angeles, vice-mayor, and councilors Elsa Escano and Severo Pacheco on October 22 and 23, 1973, respectively.

[9] Interview with Jesus Lee, private secretary of Mayor Estrada, on November 29, 1972.

[10] Mimeographed copy of the *Declaration of Principles* by the KBP, September 6, 1971.

Another KBP strategy was to engage in some form of espionage by getting a small group of members within the party to affiliate with the other political parties. This is not an uncommon campaign trick. However, the KBP also had to maintain their own system of ferreting out double agents for their own protection.[11]

In 1971, the main issue was what he had accomplished for the betterment of the community within a period of two years as compared with the achievements of Sto. Domingo when he too held the reins of government of San Juan for two years. Thus, the campaign was viewed as an information-passing network on Estrada's achievements and all possible media, including billboards, radio and the like were used so that the people can be apprised of this performance.

The Pink Ladies: Womanpower

One important weapon used by the Estrada forces in both elections was the Pink Ladies of San Juan Association. Its organization was prompted by the silence or explicit non-support of San Juan's main civic groups and the Iglesia of Estrada's candidacy. Composed initially of his female movie fans, the Pink Ladies' membership roster swelled to over a thousand by the time it was registered as a corporation in August, 1967.[12] The body was utilized purely for campaign purposes in that year's November elections. Since an atmosphere of victory was important in every stage of a campaign, the Pink Ladies were there to augment the KBP group and at the same time to serve as morale boosters of the independent party. They conceived of their role as confined largely to the elections. As a result they were inactive after November 1967. A small number even resigned their membership for reasons of migration or disappointment at the failure of some elected officials to grant personal favors they expected.

In 1971, the Pink Ladies of San Juan was reactivated and reorganized by Jesse Lee, KBP Campaign Manager and Coor-

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11 Interview with Jesus Lee on November 29, 1972 by Rizalino Santos.

12 At the beginning the organization had difficulties getting registered because of the existence of another association by the same name with headquarters right in the municipality. That group, the "Pink Ladies," had been notorious for raising funds without producing any tangible project. At one time, they presented themselves as the "Pink Ladies of San Juan Association" and succeeded in getting a donation amounting to ₱5,000.00 from the wife of a Philippine President.

dinator of the association and concurrent Private Secretary to the Mayor. The association expanded to almost 6,000 in 1971. Under the new set-up the foundation stone upon which campaign success depended was the block leader. Barrios were divided into blocks, each block composed of not more than ten people or families. A Pink Lady assumed the leadership of a block, usually that in which she is a resident. It was her duty to know every voter in the block, to get every voter to vote straight KBP, to use all means of persuasion to get every indifferent and undecided voter to the KBP fold and to remind all to vote on election day.

The Pink Ladies also did their share in the campaign for registration. A list of voters in her particular block was placed in the hands of every Pink Lady. She called on those who have not yet registered one by one to convince them, even to the point of accompanying them to the municipal hall to register.

Before the start of the campaign, the campaign manager met all the Pink Ladies to brief them on party platform, issues and other matters relevant to a political campaign and at the same time to instruct them on how to make reports and what to report, and the frequency of such reports. They were also given campaign literature for distribution in the course of their operation.

The Campaign

Three months before the election a Pink Lady made a house-to-house canvass of all voters within her block to explain the platform of the Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino, including other political issues. They used this type of campaign tactic because it was one quick way of learning whether a voter is favorable to, undecided, or against the KBP. Face-to-face discussion was also made to clear his mind of questions, doubts, or misinformation.

In these calls, the Pink Lady would distribute campaign literature.[13] After each call she took note of opposition voters,

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13 The *Balitang Pinaglabanan*, a weekly paper that began circulation four months before the election; leaflets containing the program of the KBP if elected; *Mayor Estrada Reports*, a report of accomplishments of the Mayor during the two years of his administration; cards with the picture of their mayoral candidate together with a list of names of candidates of the entire line-up at the back; and sample ballots, besides the series of appeal letters sent to voters in the locality.

voters' own feelings or reactions towards certain issues, their impressions on the performance of the Estrada team in the past two years, and other information that needed to be brought to the attention of the campaign manager and the candidates.

Each block worker was required to make reports once every 16 days for the first three months, weekly for the next two months, and daily for the last two weeks. Besides those already mentioned, reports also contained information concerning activities of the opposition, what the KBP achieved or failed to achieve and the like.

There was nothing sophisticated in the way reports were made but the little things scribbled there were most valuable to Estrada and his organization. For instance, reports gave the group a bird's eye-view of the campaign goings-on, pinpointed critical areas and clarified issues that confused voters' minds.

In the series of barrio campaigns of Mayor Estrada and his party, a Pink Lady guided them in every block in their house-to-house fray. This type of campaign was done during the day while meetings or rallies were held at nighttime. In almost all instances the KBP was extended a warm and enthusiastic reception. The group was frequently invited by the people to share a meal with them, sometimes to coincide with a baptism, anniversary, and such other special occasions.

In recent years professional politicians have resorted to audience buying (paying people to attend public meetings and rallies) in their public meetings. The multitude of people that thronged the KBP public meetings in spite of Joseph Estrada's refusal to use the same trick was partly attributed to the vigorous campaign of the Pink Ladies. The crowd gave the party a further edge over the opposition.

While the barrio-to-barrio and house-to-house campaign went full blast, another group — this time of eight Pink Ladies, campaigned by telephone. They called all San Juan residents who had listed telephone numbers. Afterwards, they were also grouped by barrio. Campaign was carried out from barrio to barrio. Before this was launched, the eight ladies underwent a seminar on telephone campaigning and were given printed guidelines on the subject.

Election Day Activities

On election day, a list of eligible voters in every block of every barrio was kept in the hands of the respective block leader together with a sheet of paper showing a sketch of the precinct nearest to her block for easy location. The KBP headquarters also had maps prepared by the Commission on Elections which indicated all polling places in the municipality. There were ready vehicles to transport voters to their respective polling places. The Pink Lady was to see to it that no one in her block would fail to cast his vote. If necessary, she would accompany everyone to the polls. Names of voters were checked off as soon as they had voted.

This move was made necessary by the fact that independent parties had no right to official poll-watchers under the operative election laws. In addition, vote stealing was not too rare an event in Filipino political circles. Four Pink Ladies were also fielded in each precinct to serve as poll watchers for the KBP.

Post-Election Functions

Ordinarily, political organizations like the Pink Ladies disband right after elections and cease to be active until the next elections. The Pink Ladies Association itself became moribund in 1967. However, it has remained an active force since its reorganization in 1971.

The group has been kept busy in various health and welfare projects. Whenever there is an intensified health campaign as in the case of an epidemic outbreak, for example, the mobile health clinic visits all barrios. The Pink Ladies would then inform people in their respective blocks of the schedule of the mobile health clinic and prepare them for immunization and check-up if these are necessary.

The Pink Ladies also continue to provide the Mayor and his men with information pertaining to the people's reactions towards policies or ordinances that the municipal government implements or plans to adopt. One example is the municipal council ordinance banning barrio fiestas. The officials already had the feel of the people's opposition to the ordinance because of informal interviews of block leaders and Pink Ladies with the people. In areas or barrios where certain elements were against the fiesta ban, officials of the government or their representa-

tives then went to the people to explain the rationale of the ordinance. Since some ordinances broke tradition, it could hardly be expected to gain immediate and wide acceptance. But the government and the people were helped to see each other's position through the liaison work of the Pink Ladies.

The Iglesia ni Kristo

The Iglesia ni Kristo is one religious sect that has been a powerful force in San Juan for many years.

"San Juan, ever since the ascendency of the INK in the early 1950's has always been an Iglesia fiefdom. No one could get elected or appointed to public office without the imprimatur or at least the toleration of the INK."[14] Being a decisive factor as a voting block, the Iglesia attracted politicians' pilgrimages during the election period.

During the early postwar period, the INK always voted straight for a choice political party. Inasmuch as there had been only two major parties in San Juan then, they either voted straight NP or straight LP. Later they began crossing party lines. Since there were not many members at that time, it was even alleged that they asked INK members from neighboring municipalities and cities like Manila to go to San Juan.[15] Some citizens and the press protested its political activities but that was as far as they could go.

Bishop Eraño Manalo, the present Supremo and son of the INK founder Felix Manalo justified his sect's active participation in politics, as follows:

> Our followers are disciplined and we vote as one. Our detractors criticize us for participating in politics. They contend that it is against the Constitution for any religion to participate in governmental affairs. But our Constitution clearly states that any citizen who reaches the voting age should vote. Therefore, we are not violating the Constitution. We don't interfere in the politics of the nation or its government.
>
> It is written in the Divine Scriptures that Christ so wished us in His name for us to think and to decide as one. This is

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[14] Nelson A. Navarro, "Did Joseph Lick Iglesia Politics?," *Graphic*, August 27, 1969, p. 34.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

> one of the teachings in the Bible that we religiously follow — to vote as one.[16]

On election day members drop by the INK compound before proceeding to their respective precincts to get a sample ballot where names of candidates they will vote for are listed.[17]

Voting as one, the Iglesia supports its own ticket for both local and national elections.

In local elections, the Iglesia vote is often decisive particularly in San Juan where its headquarters are located and where as many as 1,500 to 2,000 members write the INK's chosen slate.[18] An additional factor that gives the INK more weight in San Juan politics is the fact that other organizations in the area have not compelled their members to vote for a specified set of candidates. Thus, all-out support to particular candidates or parties has not been given even in cases where preferences of the hierarchy or leaders of these organizations have been openly announced.

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16 "One Creed, One Voice, One Vote," *Sunday Times Magazine*, August 9, 1964.

17 Interview with Atty. Pedro Perey, Councilor (NP) of San Juan for three consecutive terms (1955), (1959), and (1963), October 23, 1973.

18 Interview with the Assistant Municipal Secretary, October, 1973.

Chapter VI

Town Management for a Reform Program[1]

ARTURO G. PACHO

The municipal government of San Juan is one of the 26 municipalities of the Province of Rizal. It is under the leadership of an elected Municipal Mayor who serves for a four-year term. He has general supervision over all offices and personnel of the municipal government. (See Figure 1.) In addition, the Mayor performs varied political, social and ceremonial roles such as attending to political party interests, meeting civic groups, or acting as sponsor during baptisms or weddings. An important function of the Mayor is chairing the Municipal Council.

An elected Vice-Mayor succeeds the Mayor because of such legal factors as absence, incapacity or death of the Mayor. The Vice-Mayor is also a member of the Municipal Council. This Council is the legislative body of the municipality empowered to enact ordinances, approve the budget, and impose taxes and levies. Eight councilors and the Vice-Mayor compose the membership of the Council with the Municipal Mayor as presiding officer. The councilors are elected at large to serve a four-year term. The council holds regular meetings every Wednesday night at the municipal session hall. Whenever required special sessions are held at the call of the Municipal Mayor. Each councilor represents assigned barangays (formerly the barrios) for coordination and feedback in the council. Usually the Vice-Mayor gets the poblacion or the town proper in the distribution of barrios. The

[1] This chapter is based on U.P. Local Government Center, *Report on the Municipality of San Juan, Rizal* (Manila: LGC, October 1969), and *Program Development in the Municipality of San Juan, Rizal* (Manila: LGC, October 1973). The powers and functions described here are those given to the municipality before its inclusion into the government of Metropolitan Manila in 1976.

Mayor has an authorized annual salary of ₱9,600.00 and discretionary allowance. With the passage of a new law, the Vice-Mayor and councilors now receive regular compensations of ₱350 each month. Only the Mayor and the Vice-Mayor have fixed offices in the municipal hall with full-time staff.

An appointed Municipal Secretary takes care of the minutes and proceedings of the Municipal Council. At the same time he is responsible for all the administrative affairs of the Municipal Mayor. An Assistant Municipal Secretary helps the Secretary in performing the routinary chores of the office. Besides the Secretary there are other personnel under the Office of the Mayor. The Mayor has a Private Secretary who provides secretarial support, carries on public relations work, and represents the Mayor during conferences and other meetings. The Municipal Attorney acts as legal counsel and attends to civil cases of the municipal government.

The Public Works Department deals with local roads and public building construction and maintenance. It attends to requests for the repair of municipal roads, the municipal building and other structures. A separate section under this department is the Municipal Motor Pool which maintains and fixes all municipal vehicles and serves as garage of vehicles.

An important unit in the municipal government is the Municipal Treasurer's Office which takes care of local revenue collection and disbursement, accountability of municipal properties and assets, and preparation of the municipal annual budget. The Municipal Treasurer is primarily the financial officer and adviser of the mayor and performs in addition, non-treasury functions such as elections, civil registry, etc. He is assisted by an Assistant Municipal Treasurer. The Market Master under this office attends to the operation of the municipal market and slaughterhouse.

Health and sanitation services are handled by two rural health units each headed by a Municipal Health Officer. The two health officers perform preventive and curative health services and collect vital health statistics.

The protective services are administered by the Police and Fire Departments. The local police enforces all municipal ordinances and regulations, secures the peace and order in the municipality and takes care of the traffic in the area. The Fire

Department answers calls to fight and prevent fires in local homes and buildings. The chiefs of both offices are appointed by the Municipal Mayor.

Garbage collection and disposal and the cleaning of the public market, streets and parks are the responsibility of the Department of Public Services. Aside from maintaining environmental cleanliness, the department also receives and refers to other agencies public complaints on busted street lights, leaking water pipes, pollution, and drainage.

Social work, manpower and cooperatives development are the objectives of the Department of Social Development. The provision of food and medical assistance to families affected by calamities is supported by the department. It also assists in conducting manpower training to give the youth and unemployed adults technical skills and knowledge. Finally, it promotes the establishment of cooperatives in the municipality either by providing the leadership or the material assistance as necessary.

The judicial function is performed by the Municipal Judge who presides in the Municipal Court. In attending to all civil

The Municipal Court in session, presided over by Judge Alfredo Gorgonio.

and criminal cases under the jurisdiction of the local court, the Municipal Judge holds sessions every afternoon. The Provincial Government assigns one Special Counsel from the Provincial Fiscal's Office to the municipality.

Secondary education for municipal residents is under the direction of a Municipal High School Principal. Primary education is the responsibility of the District Superintendent of the Bureau of Public Schools.

Other municipal functions are carried out by personnel from the national government which are stationed in the municipality. The maintenance of national and national-aided provincial roads is done by a maintenance crew from the District Engineer's Office in Pasig, Rizal; coordination and supervision of all public elementary schools is undertaken by a District School Supervisor; collection and remittance of revenues is performed by the San Juan Collector of the Bureau of Internal Revenue; assistance and coordination with the municipal police force is the responsibility of the Liaison Officer of the P.C. Metropolitan Police Command, housemakers and demonstration classes are conducted by a Home Demonstrator from the Agricultural Productivity Commission; food and nutrition campaign among the residents, particularly in low-income families is undertaken by a nutritionist from the National Science Development Board; social welfare and rehabilitation work is coordinated by a representative of the Department of Social Welfare; the supply of water is maintained by the San Juan Water Reservoir of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System; communication services (mail and telegraph) are extended by the personnel in the local post and telegraph offices; and election registration and canvassing is the work of a Commission on Elections Municipal Registrar.

The preceding discussion reveals that many services which are considered as municipal in nature are the integral responsibility of either the national or provincial government. The services which may be viewed as purely municipal are markets, garbage collection and disposal, recreation, secondary education, and improvement of municipal roads and buildings. The municipal treasury service is supervised by the Provincial Treasurer who is in turn under the Department of Finance. The municipal budget, for example, is reviewed and approved by the Provincial Treasurer. Police and fire services have been integrated recently under the Metropolitan Police Force; health service is a function

supervised by the Provincial Health Officer who reports directly to the Department of Health; and social work is part and parcel of the Department of Social Welfare. In microcosm central-local relations could be viewed in San Juan.

Within this organizational perspective the Municipal Mayor sought assistance from the Local Government Center (LGC) of the U.P. College of Public Administration in conducting a management survey. Upon assuming office the Mayor wanted to gain detailed information as to the resources available in the municipal government as well as the local problems. The outcome of this request was a management study report submitted in October 1969 which described the total operations of the local administration and recommended measures for resolving managerial problems and dilemmas. The report became the guide of the Mayor and his staff, although the Mayor himself did not hesitate to initiate and execute his own ideas and solutions. Management reform became the thrust during the early days of the administration of Mayor Estrada: reassignment and training of local executives and personnel were undertaken and new management approaches were tried out. Subsequently, at the request of the Mayor the LGC again conducted a management and program development study in 1972. The Mayor himself extolled: "Managerial theories and skills are important tools to attain as well as sustain our socio-economic development."

Program Design and Goals

The Municipal Mayor established a three-point development goal for the municipality. In general terms, these goals are: (a) achieving a satisfying and high quality of urban life; (b) providing a dynamic and responsive municipal government and administration; and (c) promoting the economic opportunities in San Juan for its residents. These goals are expressed in the electoral campaign of the Mayor and in his pronouncements and speeches. A study of developments of five programs in the municipality reveals the aims and priorities of the Mayor. These programs are on public safety; public works; health, sanitation and welfare; public education; and recreation and cultural services. The following discussion explains how these programs and their specific objectives were shaped and how the projects under each were implemented in support of the general municipal goals. The case study on the municipal high school discussed in Chapter

VII evidences the priority given by the Mayor to education of the youth.

Public Safety

The police and fire services are the two basic components of this program which seeks to protect and maintain the safety of human lives and properties in San Juan. The sub-goals for the police services as enunciated by the Municipal Mayor include: (a) maintaining peace and order; (b) gaining the confidence of the people in the Police Department; (c) creating a climate for citizen participation in police affairs; and (d) professionalizing the service. To realize these sub-goals, the Mayor enlisted the commitment of the Peace and Order Committee of the San Juan Municipal Development Council and his own staff in preparing and achieving specific service objectives.

The objectives that took form under the police function included the following: the formulation of rules and procedures in the recruitment and training of police personnel; the replacement of policemen without civil service eligibilities; the restoration and enforcement of strict discipline among the members of the police force; the acquisition of modern police equipment, vehicles and communications systems; the provision of incentives and raising of salary scales in the police organization; the elimination of collusion between the police and lawless elements in the community; the organization of the "ronda system" to be headed by the barrio captains and with regular unscheduled inspection by the Mayor and night patrol by other municipal officials; and periodic consultation with the Peace and Order Committee and other professional and civic associations in the formulation of police policies and programs.

The present municipal police force has a ratio of one policeman for every 844 persons. Although the ratio falls below the ideal set by the National Police Commission (1:500 persons), it is adequate enough to maintain peace and order in San Juan. The Police Department has divided the municipality into 19 police beats, each beat comprising one or two barrios, depending upon the size, accessibility and the volume of reported crimes. Assigned patrol cars roam the area, and are augmented by the foot patrol, particularly in areas where crime incidence is heavily concentrated. Out of the 151 policemen, a daily average of 80 policemen are on patrol utilizing 15 operational mobile cars.

While only 13.24 percent of the total police force are assigned to enforce traffic rules and regulations in San Juan, this is normally supported by other units such as the foot patrolmen during peak hours. To respond promptly to the call of crime reports, mobile cars are provided with radio, and can reach the scene of the crime within three minutes. The department has 25 motor vehicles including nine motorcycles with sidecars which were purchased by the municipal government. Other vehicles were provided by USAID. About 25 percent of the local police force are thus motorized.

Reform in the Police Department began with the enforcement of the merit system on the existing force as well as on new recruits. Unqualified policemen were dismissed or suspended from the rolls, while new recruits were screened and trained. Coupled with these changes were the giving of salary adjustments as the municipal government could afford, the purchase and issuance of new equipment and other logistical support, and ex-

The police force of San Juan — building a new image and becoming more responsive to community demands.

tension of recognition to deserving and meritorious policemen which restored pride in being a member of the municipal police force. The campaign against crimes was only one of the major tasks of the police. The police became involved also in non-police functions such as the delivery of letters, transport of social workers, assistance to the health office in bringing the sick or impaired to the hospitals, and manning evacuation centers during disasters. The performance of social functions did not detract from the basic service of law enforcement; rather it brought the police closer to the people and gained their confidence.

The volume of crime incidence in the municipality has been reduced significantly from 6,196 offenses in 1969 to 3,290 in 1973. Based on the type of crimes committed, there was a decline in crimes against chastity and morality and order, against persons, and traffic violations. Increases in crime against property were, however, registered during the period.

Aside from a remarkable improvement in peace and order, the police organization has also undergone a substantial transformation. The organizational structure has been streamlined to delineate clearly the functions and responsibility of the various components of the service, improved police procedures have been adopted, and a sound and orderly record system has been established. Associated with these changes, a better coordination has been achieved not only within the organization but also with other related units. Factional jealousies among the major bureaus have been removed, discipline has been imposed and a feeling of institutional loyalty pervades the organization.

The decrease in the volume of crimes and the administrative reforms introduced into the system have helped create a new image for the police department. With the entire organization geared towards a better and more efficient service, a new era of cooperation is established between the police and the citizens with the latter giving not only material support but also assistance in the suppression of crimes. The low regard with which citizens view the police authorities particularly in Metro Manila takes exception in San Juan. While this cannot be accurately quantified, reports from newspapers and the reaction of the people in San Juan overwhelmingly support the idea that the police organization has tremendously improved, becoming more responsive to their demands.

Desk officer at Station VI, N.D., MPF, of the local police department entertains complaints. The volume of crime has noticeably decreased in San Juan, enhancing the reputation of the local police force.

Despite the efforts of the Estrada Administration, the National Police Commission (NAPOLCOM) revealed some deficiencies in the local police department based on the Police Act standards.[2] The salient points identified by the NAPOLCOM performance audit report were: the failure to provide 30 percent of the municipal budget for the police service; the failure to follow the NAPOLCOM arithmetical ratio in rank distribution; failure to comply with height and educational requirements; promotions without the desired police service eligibility; lack of equipment and bullets; and detailing of policemen for security purposes in the residences of the Mayor. The findings appear valid in the light of the desirable police standards prescribed by the NAPOLCOM. However, within the reasonable limits of the municipal budget the 30 percent allocation for police would be inimical to the other programs and services of the municipality which also require financing. At that time the percentage allocation of the budget for police in San Juan was among the highest in the Metro Manila area.

The second service under the public safety program is the fire service. The main goal of this service is to keep the com-

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[2] NAPOLCOM letter to Mayor Joseph E. Estrada, Quezon City, February 25, 1974.

munity free and safe from the hazards of fire. The Fire Department which is responsible for this service has adopted four objectives, namely: (a) to prevent fires from starting; (b) to prevent the loss of life and property when a fire starts; (c) to confine a fire to the place where it starts; and (d) to extinguish fire.

The department has a total of 19 fire personnel divided into five major service components, including administrative, fire investigation, repair, electrical, and uniformed force. The fire personnel man a core of five fire engines, two of which were acquired by the incumbent mayor. As a member of the inter-urban fire departments association, the San Juan fire office responds to fire calls in the community and other neighboring local governments such as Mandaluyong, Quezon City or Manila. The fire communications system links the central fire office with the various neighborhoods of the municipality and to other departments in Metropolitan Manila. The radio communications of the police department are also used during emergencies. The telephone is the most convenient means of reporting the outbreak of fire since San Juan does not have a fire alarm system.

About 29 water hydrants are installed in strategic areas in the municipality of which only 17 are operable. However, the uneven distribution of water supply in the community diminishes the full utilization of these working hydrants. With low water pressure in some areas of San Juan the hydrant will not serve its purpose in case of fire.

In addition to purely fire control operations, the fire department provides such services as delivering water supply to dry districts in the municipality, to road construction projects, and street or park cleanliness campaigns. Fire safety consciousness is inculcated among the residents through fire prevention and educational programs and fire inspection in the homes and business firms.

The timely response of the fire department to fire calls within and outside San Juan indicates the effective performance of the service. During a two-year period (1970 to 1971), the municipal fire service registered only 32 fire calls of which the highest damage amounted to only ₱300.00; from January 1972 to September 1974 about 40 fire calls were reported. The achievement of the municipal administration in this service is to be viewed in terms of the acquisition of fire fighting equipment including two

new fire trucks and helmets and coats for firemen; improvement in the firemen's bunkers; and construction of a district fire station. The salary of a fireman has been increased from ₱2,160 to ₱2,400 per annum — although still below the scale of other departments in Metro Manila. The fire personnel are trained and prepared at all times to meet fire exigencies. However, the department needs to put more emphasis on regular fire prevention programs to make the citizenry constantly alert regarding the danger and prevention of fires. A systematic rescue operation procedure also needs to be introduced to the service. The problem of adequate water supply in combatting fires is beyond the control of the local fire department, however.

Public Works

The program for public works involves the construction, improvement and maintenance of municipal roads, buildings, parks, flood control and drainage systems, and sports facilities. The goals envisioned for this program are: (a) to improve and enhance the physical environment of the municipality; (b) to provide the necessary infrastructure and amenities which would induce further development; and (c) to maximize the use of available local resources from all sectors. The Mayor selected road building as a priority in public works because of the necessity of having passable roads all year round for moving people, commodities and other material goods. Specifically, the over-all priorities as determined by the Mayor, the Municipal Board and the Committee on Public Works of the San Juan Municipal Development Council included the following:

(1) On Roads:
  (a) To widen and cement streets
  (b) To improve gutters and sidewalks
  (c) To install luminous street lights
  (d) To regularly maintain the roads

(2) On Public Buildings:
  (a) To construct a public high school
  (b) To build a new public market and slaughterhouse
  (c) To build an annex municipal hall building
  (d) To maintain all municipal buildings including health centers and primary schools

(3) On Recreation:
  (a) To construct public parks
  (b) To build a youth hall
  (c) To construct neighborhood sports courts

While the goals for public works were long-term in nature, the specific projects as mentioned above were short-range. The purpose of concentrating on short-range projects was to create an immediate impact on the community. Other long-range projects such as flood control, a new municipal hall, and the improvement of P. Guevarrá street are either beyond the financial capacity of the municipality or the responsibility of a larger authority such as the national government.

Considering the numerous streets and alleys which are narrow and circuitous in San Juan, the Mayor had to make a decision as to which streets should be paved and improved first. The road improvement had to be programmed and scheduled also on the basis of the limited financial resources of the municipal government. The Mayor, thus, selected the streets following certain criteria such as:

(a) Availability of funds for the project, particularly the cash disposition of the municipal treasury;

(b) Use of the road (whether it is heavily traversed or serves as an alternate route from the main streets and the main national roads); and

(c) Willingness of residents, barrio governments or associations to provide counterpart support such as materials (cement, gravel, etc.) or voluntary services.

Until the establishment of the Municipal Public Works Department in mid-1972, the implementation of public works projects was undertaken by the public works section, the municipal electrical and building inspection, the barrio governments and private engineering contractors. Generally, the Mayor opted for the construction or improvement of roads by administration. The Mayor himself conducted close supervision over the implementation of projects and designated his aides to conduct the same kind of personal supervision. The Mayor also adopted time and cost saving techniques in project implementation such as garnering voluntary barrio service in road cementing brigades, the use of the police and fire personnel, etc.

The municipal government has achieved the following infrastructure projects as of 1972:

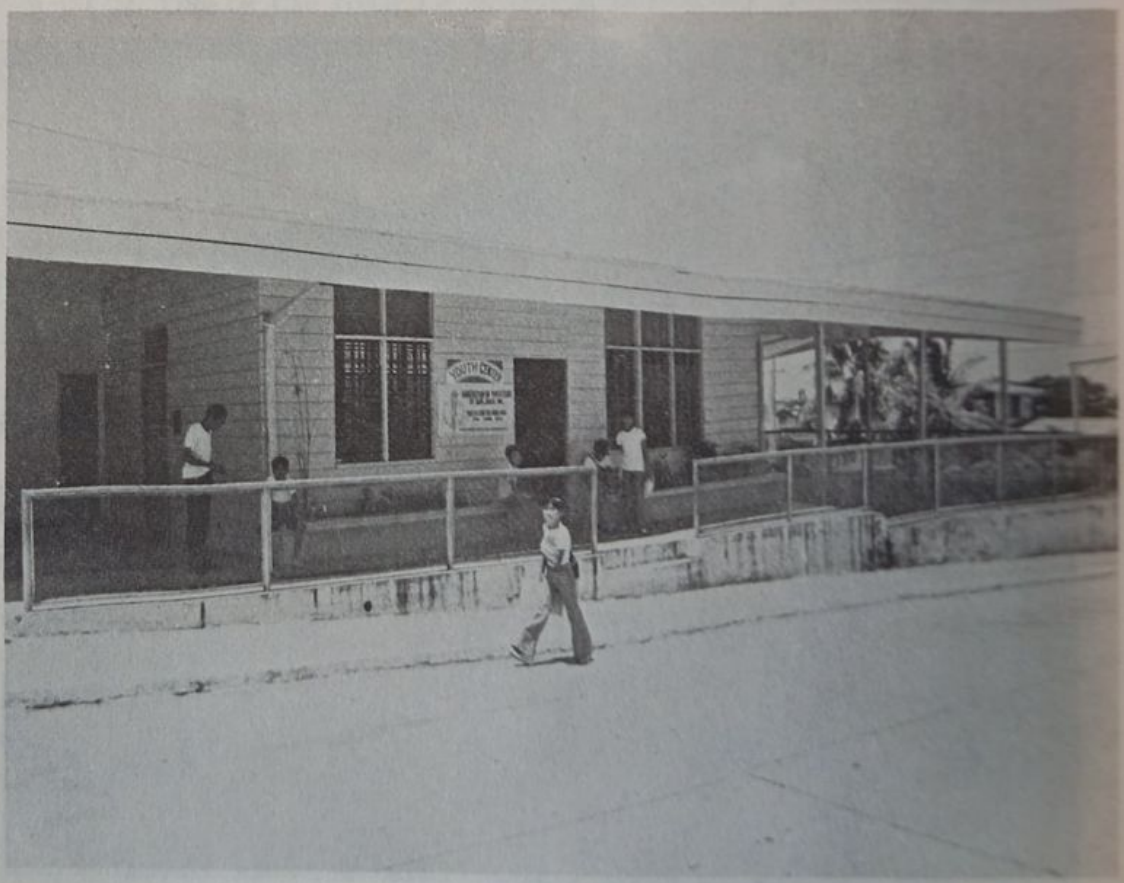
(1) On Roads:
  (a) Construction and cementing of 70 municipal roads
  (b) Installation of mercury vapor lamps in major streets
  (c) Installation of road signs
  (d) Regular maintenance of the streets

(2) On Public Buildings:
  (a) Construction of the San Juan Municipal High School
  (b) Preparation of the design for a new three-storey public market and identification of an alternate market site
  (c) Completion of a new slaughterhouse
  (d) Construction of an annex municipal building along Santolan Road housing the police, fire and health stations including the mayor's office
  (e) Maintenance and renovation of the municipal building, primary schools and health centers.

(3) On Recreation:
  (a) Construction of the Liwasang Munti ng mga Batang San Juan (Mini-Park)
  (b) Building of a Municipal Youth Center
  (c) Construction of basketball courts and other social halls in the barrios
  (d) Maintenance and improvement of public monuments — Rizal and Pinaglabanan.

The modernized San Juan slaughterhouse.

A daily scene at the slaughterhouse.

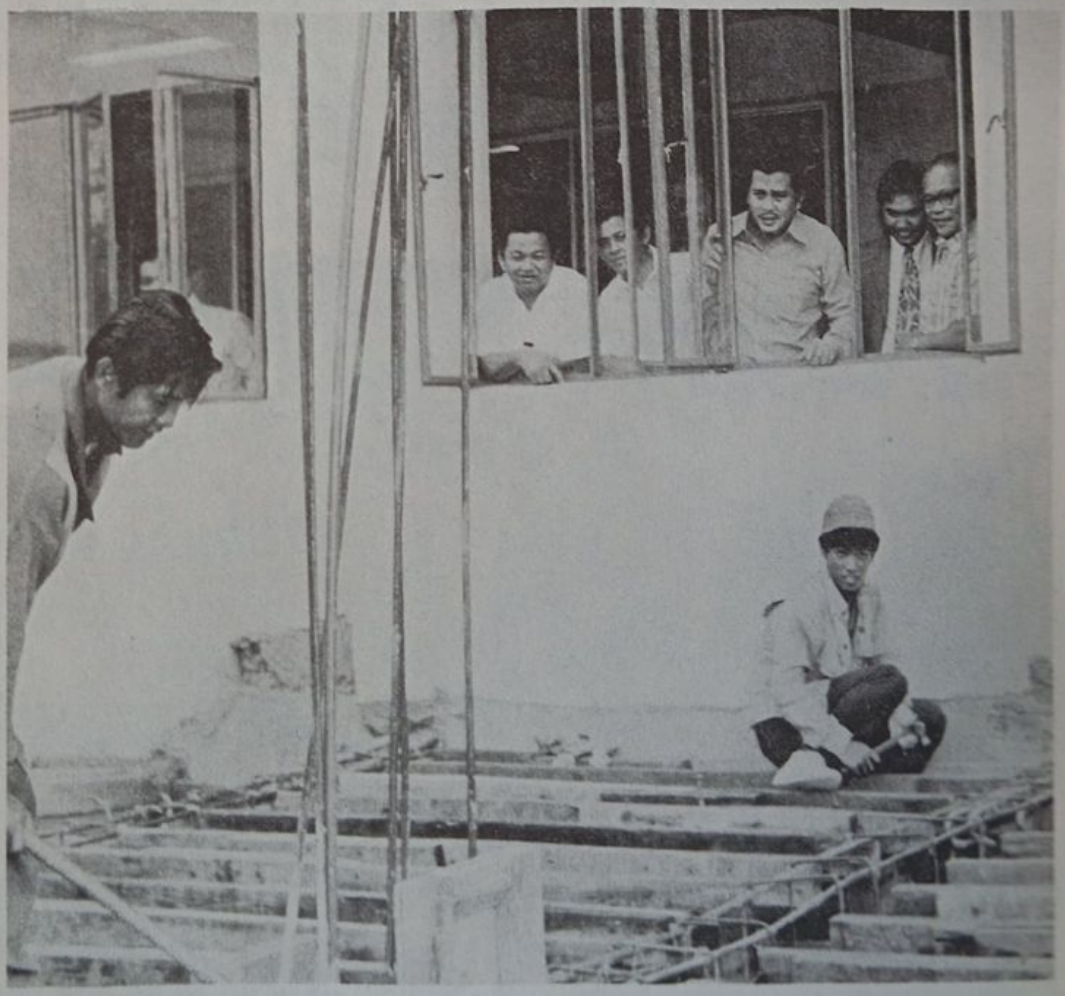


The Municipal Youth Center building.

On the administrative side, the municipal government created the public works department which integrates the units that are related to engineering, planning and building inspection. The municipality had no cemented roads whatsoever in 1969 including all systems (national-provincial or municipal). Yet for a period of 19 months (August 1969 to March 1971), the municipality completed the cementing, widening, and asphalting of 4,695 lineal meters of roads; from February 1972 to September 1974 the total improvements reached 67,695 lineal meters. Most municipal roads are now cemented.

The Public Works maintenance personnel on parade.

The municipal government cut down the costs of project construction through the personal supervision of the Mayor and other municipal officials and citizen participation. Taking the average cost per lineal meter of roads, the municipality spent ₱93.18 per meter. The costs, however, vary in each street from as low as ₱44.73 per meter in Gen. Bautista, to ₱139.16 per meter in Malvar Street. A sharp indication of the impact of personalized supervision by the municipal mayor in the construction of these projects and active citizens' participation in street works is the consequent reduction in the total costs of the projects as compared to the total estimated costs contained in the program of work. For example, the following streets had estimated costs which were drastically reduced during actual construction: Gen. Bautista from ₱40,000 to ₱18,251; San Gabriel from ₱30,000 to ₱21,120; and Morales from ₱23,060 to ₱7,563.26 among others. Expenditures on the public works projects were thus reduced to the barest minimum.



Public works project personally supervised by Mayor Estrada. Citizens actively participate in these projects.

An infrastructure project inspected by the Mayor.

Another construction project being personally supervised by Mayor Estrada.

Health, Sanitation and Welfare

The primary goal of the public health program is to improve and protect the health conditions of the community residents. Its objectives are: (a) to maximize and promote the preventive aspect of medicine; and (b) to provide medical treatment to indigent or needy residents. Following these objectives, the health program pursues projects which would tend to improve the environmental sanitation and health education of the community; to provide better medical services; and to control the spread of communicable diseases.

This program may be viewed as a joint local and national responsibility since both levels of government provide assistance to it. The two Rural Health Units in San Juan are under the supervision of two medical officers. The health teams cover ten and eleven barrios, respectively. The services performed by the two health teams include: environmental sanitation, protection involving the markets, food establishments, industries, human waste disposal and insect vermin control; medical care involving nursing services, maternal and child health, and family planning; control of communicable diseases through immunization and epidemiological investigation services; provision of dental health; and collection of vital statistics.

Garbage collection and disposal which is part of environmental sanitation is performed by the Department of Public Services. This agency has five garbage trucks to take care of the average daily collection reaching 67,664 tons. The municipality uses two disposal sites, one in Marikina and another in Taytay, Rizal. Since the head of the department is a doctor, the Mayor avails of his medical training by assigning a Mobile Health Clinic to him. Free medical consultation and treatment including medicines are provided by the clinic to low income residents particularly in squatter areas. The clinic, thus, supplements the activities of the two health teams.

The estimated garbage collectible in San Juan reaches 69,272 tons a day; however, the actual collection totals 67,664 tons a day. The uncollected garbage represents only one percent of the total refuse in the municipality. The problem lies in the inadequate garbage trucks which occasionally break down during operations. The garbage dump site is likewise a long distance from the community. The Mayor has received empty gasoline drums

The Department of Public Services collects and disperses garbage. Environmental sanitation is a personal concern of the Mayor as well as a communal one.

An example of community leadership. By getting personally involved, the Mayor hopes to actively engage the citizens in cleanliness campaigns.

for distribution as garbage receptacles in many places in San Juan. Moreover, concrete receptacles were built along the main streets. *Operation Linis* which was first launched in 1970 involved municipal employees in the community cleanliness campaign and in inculcating the right attitude towards environmental sanitation.

Two problematic areas in public health have been the main concern of the Mayor. These are the provision of a sewerage and drainage disposal system and the control of air and water pollution. The municipality does not have an adequate sewerage and drainage system. For this reason, effluent from septic tanks and domestic and industrial sewage are disposed off in the street gutters, canals and rivers, thus posing health hazards to the community. Moreover, there is increasing pollution in residential neighborhoods and in the river and streams of San Juan because of the growing number of industrial firms being established.

An important indicator of the effectiveness of the public health service may be gleaned from the statistics on maternal and child care. Infant deaths which totalled 672 in FY 1970 declined to 46 deaths in 1973. However, foetal deaths increased from ten in 1970 to 22 in 1972, but it eventually declined to ten in the following year. There were no maternal deaths reported during the period.

Taking the total consultation and treatment on maternal and child care by the Rural Health Units, the service appears to be satisfactory. The recorded consultation service in 1970 was 6,444 and 4,071 in 1973. Total treatment recorded was 9,031 in 1970 and 5,230 in 1973. The immunization program against communicable diseases decreased from 61,969 in 1970 to 21,894 in 1973. The decline is attributed to the fact that immunization is stepped up only in times of epidemics and health crises.

Public Education

The focus of the public education program is on the provision of secondary education to the youth in San Juan. It is the component of public education which had been initiated by the municipal government and remains its responsibility. Primary education is provided by the national government with minimal support from the municipal government such as clerical assistance, building maintenance, and security of school children and

buildings. Heretofore, San Juan had no secondary school except private schools. The Mayor sought to fill in this void in the community. It had a two-fold purpose in establishing a public high school. First, the graduates of local public elementary schools, particularly those who are financially handicapped, are given an opportunity to pursue secondary education. Second, the youth are given a chance to acquire the skills necessary to earning a living — bearing in mind the manpower needs and socio-economic goals of the community.

A 21-room school building was constructed at the instance of the Mayor. With the completion of the entire school building complex, it is estimated that 1,050 students may be accommodated in the school. Only residents from the municipality may gain admission to the school after passing a thorough screening. A minimal tuition fee of ₱5.00 per month is charged for every student. The curriculum is geared towards the academic program. The current teacher to pupil ratio is one teacher to every 31 students. Day and night time classes are offered by the school.

During the period under study the municipal high school admitted 21 percent of the primary school graduates in San Juan in SY 1970-71 and 31.14 percent in SY 1973-74. The municipal high school could only admit a quarter of the elementary school graduates during its initial operation because of limitations in facilities and teaching force. Nevertheless, the admission ratio is being increased by the opening of the night school. From a total number of 300 students in 1971, the current enrollment reached 1,171 in SY 1974.

Local support had been granted to the elementary schools partly through building repair and maintenance. The municipality has extended its commitment to education by constructing a ten-room primary school in Salapan and reconstructing the 28 classrooms of Sta. Lucia Elementary School.

Recreation and Cultural Services

An essential program in the municipality is providing recreation and cultural service to the people. Its objective is to promote a "wholesome community life" by giving pleasure and recreational opportunities to people and enhancing the physical environment of the community. With this as a general goal, the Mayor designed such projects as the construction of a mini-park and a

The new Salapan Elementary School building, a commitment to the local youth's education.

San Juan Elementary School: alma mater of several residents of the municipality.

The new annex building of the San Juan Elementary School. More rooms to accommodate more youths.

The San Perfecto Elementary School on Venancio Street.

youth hall; presentation of dramas, choral concerts, and rondallas; holding of sports activities and the mini-Olympics; annual celebration of the *Pabasa* (reading of the Passion during the Holy Week), and *Santacruzan* during May; the holding of a Lantern of Joy every Christmas; and improvement of the Pinaglabanan Shrine including the celebration of the yearly Pinaglabanan Day.

Cultural plays are shown in the mini-park and drama catering to the youth by known artists and dramatists is offered by the municipal government. The recreation and cultural programs may be identified as a joint municipal and private sector undertaking. The Mayor himself spearheads the program together with some members of the municipal council. A package of recreational and cultural projects is supplied by the municipal government despite the absence of any formal local institution to administer the program. The most pressing problem, however, is finding the available space needed for neighborhood parks and sports courts which are closer to the homes of the residents. Thus, dead-end and less used streets are being considered as alternative sites for a neighborhood park or a basketball court.

A quantitative evaluation of this particular program is not possible except through a survey of the users of these recreational facilities. The surrogate survey to get substantial proof of the significance of the program could be viewed through the turnout during festivities, athletic activities, and other cultural events sponsored or initiated by the municipal government. Each night community residents promenade at the mini-park. The social and physical well-being of the residents is enhanced by the various recreational and cultural services provided by the municipality. It may be emphasized also that the private sector has organized programs including educational and recreational tours for the youth.

Review of Program Development

In terms of the enunciated goals and defined projects, the municipal government has achieved much during the incumbency of Mayor Estrada. Beginning in late 1969 when the Mayor started the planning and implementation processes of his development program, the resources of the community were utilized to the fullest extent possible. The Mayor, thus, looked inward in realizing the development program. The approach used in draw-

ing the help and support of community residents, as the Mayor recalled it, was going directly to the people and discussing the problems of the community openly with them. He told them what can be done with the limited municipal funds, and what more can be done with the assistance of the citizens. As a result, the Mayor said, "Help came, first in trickles. Then as projects were slowly being implemented, help came in bundles."

The municipal projects were not ends by themselves. The Mayor designed the projects because these were for the people's gain. The Mayor was explicit in explaining the fundamental assumption of the municipal development program:

> We do not look at the successes we have had in San Juan in terms of the number of projects we have finished but in how the people of the town were directly benefited by them. Our concern is for people — not the projects themselves — because projects are for people who needed them — to help them enjoy life a little better and feel a little more secure in the thought that they are still part of their own government.[3]

[3] Speech of Mayor Estrada at Club Filipino on April 8, 1973.

Chapter VII

Estrada's Administration: Mechanisms for Action

Daisy G. Bernabe and Eleanor M. Paray

An important task of any administration is the implementation of plans and projects in pursuit of organizational goals. Getting things done depends on a multitude of factors that may be political, social, economic or cultural in nature. Thus, any administrator, no matter how big or small his area of operation may be, needs technical assistance to translate plans into projects and to produce meaningful accomplishments.

The Mayor of San Juan is fortunate enough to have found and tapped sources and mechanisms for designing and implementing projects of his administration. Aside from structures within the municipal government, such as the municipal council and the technical staff, he has harnessed the private sector of the community to assist him in his numerous tasks. A feature unique to Estrada's administration is the participation of private associations and civic organizations in municipal affairs. In addition to this, the municipal council has been an active partner in administrative pursuits. Municipal officials have proven to be of great help in all undertakings. In fact, a new system has been devised in municipal operations whereby citizens can directly telephone any municipal official to present a particular problem or plight and the official is expected to produce immediate responsive action.

This chapter thus dwells on the mechanisms for action which Estrada tapped during his incumbency. These mechanisms are the Municipal Council, the San Juan Municipal Development Council, the San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc., and the Municipal Direct Action Line. The dynamics of project initiation and

implementation is best illustrated in the example of the Municipal High School which is analyzed in the latter part.

The Municipal Council as a Partner For Administration Action

Under the prevailing set-up in local governments at the time of the study the municipal council is considered as an important decision-making unit. As the law-making body in the municipality, it is vested by law with a wide array of specific legislative powers and duties encompassing many acts of municipal government and administration.

Due to this specific legal grant, the Mayor counts on the cooperation of councilors for the enactment of ordinances which will authorize the projects of his administration. It is the municipal council which deliberates on, decides and provides the legal basis for municipal actions. The Mayor and the council therefore are partners in municipal administration.

Yet because of electoral preferences, the council may not always be composed of officials who share the same ideas, whose political ambitions coincide and whose personalities are compatible with each other. In fact, such differences and incompatibilities while seemingly operating as a form of check, result, some of the time, in various forms of conflicts detrimental to operations. These problems hampered the program of Joseph Estrada when he first assumed the mayoralty position in 1969. The Municipal Council he inherited was composed mainly of members of the Opposition. Five members — the vice-mayor and four councilors — belonged to the Liberal Party. Only two were associated with the Nacionalista Party which was then the party in power nationally. Like the Mayor, two council members ran and won independently.

The differences in party affiliation and loyalty rendered the attainment of meaningful partnership difficult a number of times. Cliques and alliances had already been formed with one group constantly checking and blocking the moves of the other. Proposed ordinances and resolutions affecting municipal administration especially those initiated by the Mayor were generally dissected and modified before any action could be made. While this semblance of checks and balances assured a close examination of proposals, it frequently simply delayed action. This delay

oftentimes became a setback to the implementation of plans and projects of the administration.

Yet many of Estrada's pet projects were supported even by the supposedly hostile and obstructionist council. Among these are such achievements as the construction and operation of the first public high school, the Salapan primary school and the Liwasang Munti (mini-park). It was also during this time that a powerful action mechanism, the San Juan Municipal Development Council (SJMDC) was first activated as a means of involving the private sector in public activities.

In running for the second time in 1971, Mayor Estrada undoubtedly desired to avoid the recurrent conflicts and obstructionism that marked his first two years in office. Thus, he personally chose the Vice-Mayor as well as the eight candidates for councilor. In addition, he thought it wise to emphasize the need for a new group (KBP) which is separate and distinct from existing political parties. For this reason, he relied on the candidates' qualifications as well as their community standing as the main criteria for inclusion in the line-up. The KBP swept all the local positions at stake in 1971. With its triumph, the prospect of having a unified body for action became bright.

The inaugural meeting of the council was held on January 1, 1972. During this meeting, Mayor Estrada outlined his program of government stressing the following project proposals: the construction of a modern public market and slaughterhouse, more playgrounds and schools. He further emphasized the need for the generous help and cooperation from the people to arrive at the council's service goals. The standing committees of the council were then organized: (1) Finance, Police and Fire; (2) Schools; (3) Health and Sanitation; (4) Market and Slaughterhouse; (5) Rules and Revision of Laws and Ordinances; (6) Social Welfare and Barrio Affairs; (7) Public Works; and (8) Youth, Sports and Playgrounds.

The Municipal Council of San Juan, just like any council organization, transacts business within the context of set formal methods, its committee system and its laid-out program of government. Clearly, however, this council has unique characteristics which result in a speedy decision-making process.

The Council has high morale. The Mayor has its full confidence and regards it as "one of the best that has ever existed

in San Juan." It is an integrated and cohesive group; it is composed of people belonging to the same party with more or less the same professional and community standing. Beyond this, the councilors feel a certain obligation to present a united front. According to one councilor, "The group was elected as a whole so we owe it to the people to work as a group."

Council work in San Juan is group work and council discussions seek to improve on proposals or to reach consensus. There have been few conflicts. Competing claims of its members and different policy priorities are resolved informally and in an easy, friendly manner.

Other factors tend to reinforce this favorable council situation. The Mayor is able to assert the type of leadership which is acceptable to the members, and the civic sector cooperates with the council. On the latter point, the council tries to feel the pulse of the people in various ways. For instance, its meetings are open to the public; in fact, it encourages individuals and groups (e.g., delegations of teachers, policemen, barrio captains, etc.) to attend its meetings. Sometimes the council resorts to open forums so that complaints of the citizens are directly heard.

Relying therefore on the facilitating nature of the council, the Mayor has received the approval of the council to start construction on the modern public market and the annex of the public high school as well as to work on the less tangible activities such as projects of the newly-created Social Development Department and the physical fitness program handled by the Municipal Athletic Director. He has also leaned less on the SJMDC now that the Municipal Council is more responsive.

Government-Private Sector Cooperation

A distinguishing mark in Estrada's administration is the meaningful participation of private citizens and civic organizations in municipal affairs. A large number of San Juan residents who are known to belong to the upper strata not only of the community but also of the society at large actively participate and support many of the municipal projects. In fact, Estrada relies heavily on two organizations composed of prominent citizens for assistance and support in maintaining his pet projects. These organizations are the San Juan Municipal Development Council and the San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc. There are likewise

homeowners or neighborhood associations in the municipality which generate citizen involvement in community programs.

The San Juan Municipal Development Council

On February 8, 1969, a group of San Juan citizens "representing several segments of the community" met with Mayor Braulio Sto. Domingo and organized the San Juan Municipal Development Council upon recommendation of Isidro I. Rodriguez, Governor of the Province of Rizal. During this meeting it was agreed that an organization of this kind was needed to assist the municipal government in the various phases of community development. The SJMDC superseded a smaller government-private cooperative effort known as the Mayor's Consultative Council.

According to its by-laws, the SJMDC has the following objectives:

(1) To map out an economic plan for the municipality;

(2) To make an analysis of the problems and resources of the municipality;

(3) To establish priorities on the local government's plan of activities;

(4) To assess and recommend important projects of the local municipal government;

(5) To help promote the well-being of the residents through an efficient implementation of programs of public welfare; and

(6) To act as an advisory group to the municipal council and the municipal mayor of the town.

To carry out these tasks, the SJMDC was stipulated to be a non-political, non-sectarian and non-partisan group which, while maintaining its independence as an organization, was expected to enter into cooperative and workable relations with the municipal government and related entities.

According to its organizational chart, the SJMDC is made up of the following formal structures: a coordinating committee composed of the chairman and co-chairman of the different standing (working) committees; an executive secretary; a comptroller; and a technical adviser.

There are 15 standing committees[1] with their respective chairmen and co-chairmen and with membership ranging from five in one committee (the Special Committee on Barrio Council) to 22 in two other committees (the Ways and Means, and the Women's Welfare Activities Committees).

The SJMDC membership has been restricted to residents of the municipality. However, non-residents with "interest" in the welfare of the community may join in the discussions and deliberations of the council.

The Mayor of San Juan was an honorary member of the council. The councilors who chair committees in the council "with similar names" as that of the committees of the SJMDC are coopted as advisers of these committees with the approval of the council chairman and the Mayor. The participation of administrative department heads in the council is approved by both the chairman and Mayor.

The SJMDC Activities (February 1969-July 1969). On February 25, 1969, the SJMDC held its organizational meeting at the residence of Mayor Sto. Domingo. Governor Isidro I. Rodriguez who was the guest of honor and speaker, inducted the members of the council.

The Governor in his speech, reiterated the importance of the council as a body for "assessing the problems and needs of the community." Moreover, he emphasized the need for this body to coordinate with the Municipal Government in fulfilling its responsibilities. In other words, the challenge was to create a type of cooperative venture between the body and the municipal government. He then stressed that the growth of Rizal province under his administration can be traced in part to "citizen participation in the administration."

The first official act of the SJMDC was the drafting of a resolution reiterating the significance of the "Battle of Pinaglabanan." As an offshoot of this resolution the body agreed that

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[1] The different standing committees of the SJMDC are as follows: Ways and Means Committee, Personnel Management, Administration and Training Committee and Peace and Order Committee, Special Committee on Barrio Council, Health and Sanitation Committee, Awards and Evaluation Committee, Education Committee, Business Committee, Safety and Emergency Committee, Industry Committee, Public Works Committee, Women's Welfare Activities, Consolidated Youth Welfare Activities Committee, Public Information and Legal Committee.

the SJMDC would lay the "groundwork" for the proposed shrine and cooperate with the Pinaglabanan Commemorative Commission headed by Governor Rodriguez in undertaking this project.

A week later, Mayor Sto. Domingo inducted the chairman of the coordinating committee, Juan D. Quintos, as well as 21 other members.

In this initial working meeting, the organizational structure and program of activities of the different committees were discussed. Among the priorities mentioned were the construction of a new public market and the development of youth welfare programs.

Apparently, the SJMDC was an idea whose time has come, for many San Juanites signed up for involvement in its committees. Mr. Jose Alvior, its Executive Secretary, would report that by April 1969, the Council had grown from 23 members only two months before, to 209. Moreover, the Committees seriously undertook their assignments. A mere listing of their reports would give a clue to the wide range of programs and the amount of time they spent in doing what they conceived to be the work of the Council.

> Public Works Committee — draft for a new building code, proposal for phased construction and use of proposed market, with consideration given to vendor relocation.
>
> Consolidated Youth Welfare Activities Committee — recommendation for a manpower survey using "one of the barrios as a pilot project on youth activities," solicitation of funds to allow 20 Boy Scouts to attend the National Jamboree, the revival of the Junior Police Force, the attendance of four youth leaders in a leadership training seminar on the listing of the problems of out-of-school youth.
>
> Public Information Committee — report on the San Juan fiesta and the SJMDC.
>
> Peace and Order Committee — receipt of three jeeps from USAID, office expansion of the police department, remodelling of municipal jail, blue-print of proposed police outpost and fire station in Greenhills and other areas, recommendation for a wide street, censorship of movies shown in the community.
>
> Personnel Management, Administration and Training Committee — a formal request to the Mayor which in effect would allow this committee to make "observations on the functions, duties and responsibilities of the municipal government employees," suggestion for "in-service training seminar" for the municipal employees, proposal for a code of ethics for these employees.

Women's Welfare Committee — "ocular observation" of the puericulture centers of the municipality, identification of the following program areas: beautification, health and sanitation, food production, nutrition, family planning, recreation projects pertinent to the municipality's cultural-economic-political growth as well as moral and spiritual uplift of the community.

Health and Sanitation Committee — proposals towards an appropriate manner of collecting and disposing of garbage, employing a private enterprise for the control of mosquitoes, improving the "health and sanitation facilities in the public market and abattoir," educating the residents along health and sanitation fields, designating new areas to be converted into mini-parks, setting barrio boundaries, printing newsletter through which information could be relayed, and putting up a mini-fair which would exhibit council projects and activities.

Business Committee — recommendation to review with the legal committee existing laws affecting local business, cleanliness and beautification campaign along main business section.

A number of these issues engaged the Executive Committee which religiously met every month. Heading the list was the feasibility study on the public market including such details as its physical layout, rental per stall, and schedule of actual construction work. The recommendations of the Peace and Order Committee also received wide agreement in the larger body. By and large, it can be said that the SJMDC was a vibrant working body when Joseph Estrada ascended to power in August 1969.

The SJMDC during Estrada's Administration. On August 6, 1969, shortly after Mayor Joseph Estrada won the electoral protest, some 27 members and guests attended the first crucial meeting of the new Mayor with the SJMDC. It turned out to be a reiteration-of-confidence meeting, an occasion during which the SJMDC members expressed their desire to cooperate with the new Mayor who was represented in the meeting by Mr. Jesus Lee, his private secretary. The typical sentiments expressed in this meeting may be gleaned from the remarks of several participants. For example, Mr. Quintos said: "The council is ready to cooperate with the municipal authorities on vital matters and projects of the town." Mr. Abello emphasized that the membership of the SJMDC is "of all political colors."

Following this cordial encounter, the Mayor then consulted with the SJMDC to get their views on what directions his administration should take. One result of this dialogue was the

decision to involve the SJMDC in infrastructure projects which would take the form of "impact projects" using the "bayanihan approach."

It soon became apparent that the procedure established by Mayor Sto. Domingo for the SJMDC to meet every month and for the working committees to submit corresponding reports would not be maintained. What actually took place were mostly meetings of the Committee on Education.

The usefulness of this particular committee was somewhat maximized as a result of the Public High School project of the Mayor. The Committee was frequently consulted by the Mayor regarding the formulation of guidelines for policies covering the organization and administration of the school. According to Mayor Estrada, it was in fact the Committee on Education which "decides everything" or "has all the say regarding the setting of guidelines as the bases for the operational policies of the high school."

Generally speaking, however, the SJMDC is in an "inactive" status. The organization is there but the members, except for the Committee on Education, do not meet regularly. They are, however, individually called upon by the Mayor to participate in municipal government activities. To be more specific, the working arrangement existing between the Municipal Government and the SJMDC is as follows: the Mayor calls on the members of the SJMDC each time there is an appropriate program; otherwise he does not see "why there should be regular meetings when there is nothing to discuss."

The following instances will demonstrate the present working arrangement to "involve SJMDC members as the need arises." The municipal government calls upon the members of the SJMDC to prepare the program and look into the financial needs of the yearly commemoration of the "Pinaglabanan Battle." The training seminar for municipal employees was conducted by the Committee on Personnel Management and Training; the Committee members took charge of the syllabus, led the discussions and gave lectures at no expense on the part of the municipal government. Moreover, in the new market construction project and the recent "Rehabilitate One Barrio in Bulacan" project, the leaders of this project were SJMDC members who coordinated with the Mayor in their activities.

Realistically speaking, it may be important to emphasize that the present position of the SJMDC is that of a stand-by consultative body in project implementation.

The SJMDC: Observations. It appears that the idea of organizing the SJMDC came from Governor Isidro I. Rodriguez of the Province of Rizal with former Mayor Braulio Sto. Domingo attending to the initial details of organization work.

It may be said that the creation of the SJMDC was "*politico*-initiated." However, in terms of membership, one can say that the body is not "*politico*-sustained." Various individuals representing civic, professional, business and religious organizations have joined the organization. Broadly, the SJMDC is envisioned to be a supplementary arm of the municipal government in local development. The SJMDC is thought to be a supportive body to the municipal government insofar as policy-making and program implementation are concerned. In specific terms, the SJMDC is a partner of the municipal government in identifying, discussing and deliberating on community needs and problems and in undertaking the necessary community programs, projects and activities.

During the Sto. Domingo era, the predominance of SJMDC over the formal municipal council seemed to require a clearer delineation of roles and spelling out of responsibilities. Under the Estrada administration, especially since his re-election, the SJMDC is less visible as a body; the Mayor acknowledges its importance but utilizes it only in specific areas of concern. Now the problem is not that of role supremacy but the continued recognition of the Council as a means of reaching private citizens who are outside the government but who are interested in community affairs.

At this stage, the SJMDC when taken as a whole is losing its formal strength in identifying comprehensively and discussing community needs and problems. No doubt, the former procedure of meeting regularly and having truly working committees which represent the sectoral as well as more general interests is quite a comprehensive approach to the wide-ranging community needs and problems. Nevertheless, one cannot underestimate the present approach of the Mayor. His is a charismatic style and his means of reaching the people are personal rather than organizational. Thus he meets frequently with the barrio captains in-

dividually, and with the Barrio Captains League at least once every two months. He also patrols the community personally, often with the night policemen on the beat. He invites the people to attend and speak up at the council meetings as a way of getting at the needs and problems of the people. In fact, the Mayor's approach endeavors to get the feel of the needs and problems of all social levels of the populace. On the other hand, it is said that the SJMDC is composed mostly of people from the upper strata.

But still, citizen participation, no matter what sector it represents, is at its best when organized or fitted into some kind of a framework. In other words, citizen involvement needs a working program. Indeed, the SJMDC represents a programmed and organized citizen participation. Moreover, in the light of the present project implementation program of the Mayor, the SJMDC can be a source of supplementary leadership to that one coming from the municipal government and the Mayor himself.

Estrada-Created Action Services

Another way through which Estrada assures implementing actions for his projects is the committee system. Depending on the occasion and purpose, the Mayor creates special committees composed not only of trusted municipal officials but also of volunteer prominent citizens. For example, during the commemoration of the 74th Anniversary of the "Battle of Pinaglabanan" on August 30, 1970, prominent San Juan residents and civic leaders assisted in preparing for and leading in the festivities.

Of the special committees created during Estrada's administration, the Special Action Committee has so far stood out as a real mechanism for action.

The Special Action Committee. The Special Action Committee was created on October 17, 1969 by virtue of an executive order of the Mayor. It was organized to provide assistance to the Committee on Education of the San Juan Municipal Development Council in the execution of the implementing details of the high school project. Specifically, the Committee took charge of fund drives and solicited material donations for the project. It also attended to all administrative matters and transactions pertaining to the high school. The role of this Committee was

later expanded to include direct assistance to the Mayor on executive functions.

As of 1973, the Committee was no longer active, its role and functions having been assumed by the Municipal Secretary, the Assistant Municipal Secretary and the department and office heads. These officials presently collaborate in a system similar to the "Action Line" instituted by the defunct *The Manila Times* whereby citizens who air problems and grievances could get immediate response from the relevant municipal office.

The Direct Action Line. There is a continuous attempt on the part of local government units to improve the efficiency of their administration bearing in mind the demands of their clientele and the public in general. As a result, a variety of approaches has been employed by government officials to achieve a reputation for efficiency. In the municipality of San Juan, this image is tied up with a supposed service theme which has "public-community and human relations" connotations, that is, the municipal government incorporates the citizens' views, needs and problems in the process of achieving its functional purposes.

A logical device which has emerged out of this service theme is an informal method which may be called the "Direct Action Line." It is informal in the sense that no law had made provision for its existence as one of the municipal government functions. Yet it has become so much a part of the municipal government's day-to-day activities.

The informal technique works this way: a citizen calls up the municipal government (usually, the Office of the Municipal Secretary) with a complaint which he feels should be attended to by municipal officials. The Municipal Secretary or his assistant immediately writes down the problem on a "daily complaint sheet." Then the complaints are sorted out. Public works problems, e.g., filling up of holes in the streets are referred to public works officials and health matters, e.g., uncollected garbage are brought to the attention of Health Department authorities. Follow-up is done on the complaints to find out whether or not such complaints are attended to by the officials concerned. At the same time the officials are expected to inform the Office of the Secretary about the progress of the work being done on the complaints.

The Municipal Secretary refers bigger problems, e.g., asphalting of streets which require financial support, to the Mayor and/or the Council for decision-making.

This service of the municipality may be considered effective in many ways: it is a quick service which somehow enhances the efficiency image of the government. Besides, this method whereby citizens call and government officials respond stimulates a two-way communication system between the government and the people for solving community problems. More significantly, the device is evaluative; it enables the municipal government to know where lapses in its services are. On the other hand, the citizens gain the psychological satisfaction of knowing "there is always someone in the municipal government to attend to my needs and problems."

However, an exception may be given to the above positive features of the device. Unless there are ways of assessing complaints (so that the more important ones are attended to ahead of the others), then responding to all types of complaints which already averages 20 a day is time-consuming and might interfere with legitimate and more pressing responsibilities of municipal government officials. Besides, attending to unorganized complaints is definitely a piece-meal and fragmented approach to accomplishing municipal government work. It may be well to educate the public on the proper use of the device. And, while using the device, it is important that municipal government officials keep track of their already programmed projects and activities.

San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc. The most recent innovation which links the townspeople with the community is the San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc., a private non-stock and non-profit corporation organized on June 24, 1973. Established at the instance of the Mayor, the SJPF is composed of prominent citizens of San Juan, including some leaders of the now inactive municipal development council. The factor that precipitated its organization was financial: because of the modification of the national allotment scheme under Presidential Decree No. 144 the municipal treasury faces a decrease of over ₱1.6 million in the next fiscal year. Thus one of its functions is to seek funds and accept donations for its projects. However, the SJPF intends to be more than a fund-raising institution. Its priority projects

are the completion of the municipal high school and its subsequent annexes. It also plans to set up a Municipal Skills Center for the unemployed and underemployed residents of San Juan, a Municipal Vocational School for technological training of selected young people, cooperatives and credit unions, and self-liquidating community projects. In addition, its concept of progress is wide enough so that it will not only initiate, conduct, operate, support and/or promote governmental and private activities; it also is empowered to conduct and support inter-disciplinary research on San Juan, publish other studies whose findings may be beneficial to the community, establish professorial chairs, provide awards, and in other ways, recognize achievements for the people of San Juan.

Establishing a Municipal High School

The events surrounding the establishment of the first public high school in San Juan exemplifies the type and kind of participation of private citizens and civic organizations in municipal affairs and how various groups are mobilized by the Estrada administration for project implementation. In this case, the San Juan Municipal Development Council's Committee on Education, the Special Action Committee and, of late, the San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc. have been involved.

When Joseph Estrada ran for the mayoralty post in the local elections of 1967, he presented to the electorate a platform of government and a "plan of development" one of the main features of which was the establishment of a public high school. Upon his assumption into office Estrada immediately sought various means through which his promise could be realized. Three things were to be assured in order to keep the promise: (1) authorization by the Municipal Council; (2) outlining of implementing details; and (3) execution of such details.

The idea was legitimized through piecemeal legislation of the Municipal Council with the Mayor initiating most of the authorizing resolutions. All in all, the Council acted and deliberated on matters relating to the high school in 19 major instances. Estrada had acted as initiator in 18 instances. Perhaps because of this, Estrada, of all the municipal officials, is recognized as the chief author and initiator of the high school project. The

physical plan for the high school was drawn by a private architectural firm with Estrada having a big hand as regards specifications. The result was a picture of an "imposing edifice of three floors with spacious grounds and parking lot."

When construction of the building began, Estrada was faced with the task of planning the administration and operation of the school. He then realized that the task ahead was so technical that he needed the help of experts in the field. Close advisers pointed to the San Juan Municipal Development Council.

Getting the experts to help in his project initially posed a problem to the Mayor. In the first place, the Development Council was organized under the previous administration with the former mayor, whose election Estrada contested and won, having had a personal hand in the selection and appointment of members. Besides, his image then was that of a movie star, an irresponsible young toughie whose election as Mayor was based purely on popularity. As a first move, he personally approached and then formally wrote to the chairman and members of the Development Council requesting them to assist in the project, but only a few, old-time friends of his equally prominent family responded to his call. Feeling that he needed a more personal approach to break the ice, Estrada hosted a party in his parents' residence to provide an informal yet regal atmosphere for his first meeting with the Development Council. The attendance to Estrada's party proved encouraging. The Chairman, Co-chairman and majority of the Council members honored the Mayor's invitation. In this first meeting, assurance was given that the Development Council would continue to serve the municipal government and would support Estrada's projects. Among those who readily assured help was the Chairman of the Committee on Education, Dr. Dominador Lapuz.

The involvement of the Committee on Education in the municipal affairs formally commenced on September 23, 1969 when Estrada wrote to the Chairman saying, in part, that he needed the Committee's "wise judgment and support in evolving public policies and securing the necessary resources in realizing specific local projects" one of which was the high school. Among the first areas where the assistance of the Committee was urgently needed were the technical problems relating to:

(1) the financial requirements;
(2) the location and site of the school and construction of the building;
(3) curriculum;
(4) selection of students and entrance examinations;
(5) opening of classes and class schedules; and
(6) recruitment of the teaching staff and administrative personnel.

The Committee met regularly to help the Mayor decide on these details. Generally, the Mayor would write or personally inform the Chairman of the alternative lines of action open to them and the Committee would study, discuss and recommend the best possible ways. Aside from this type of assistance in decision-making, a few members helped in soliciting donations in cash or in kind for the project.

An area where the Committee proved to be of great help was the selection of students to be admitted to the school. Here, the Committee was solely responsible for setting the standards of admission and for formulating the entrance examinations for prospective first year students. The Committee did not only formulate the tests; the members themselves actually conducted the examination, checked the papers and selected the students. This voluntary assistance considerably lightened the burden of a municipal Mayor lacking a technical staff.

While the Committee on Education was helping the Mayor decide on the technical and administrative matters pertaining to the high school, a Special Action Committee was created to take care of project execution. Estrada realized that the role of the Committee on Education had become increasingly limited to assistance in technical decision-making. Also needed were men who could effectively do the talking and legwork for the Mayor and the Committee and who could put the decisions into action. When the Special Action Committee was constituted, the Mayor staffed this with a select few who had a clear understanding of the decisions regarding the technical requirements and needs of the project; men who knew where and how the need may be met; and men who were familiar with administrative procedures. The following composed the officers and members of the Committee:

(1) The Acting Municipal Treasurer as Chairman for he was in the best position to know the financial requirements

and needs of the project and he was undoubtedly familiar with administrative procedures;

(2) An engineer and close friend of the Mayor who was also the Secretary of a leading civic organization (San Juan Jaycees) as Vice-Chairman, for his technical expertise and his social and business contacts;

(3) The Municipal Secretary as Secretary, who having acted as Secretary of the Committee on Education had an unquestionable understanding of the decisions; and

(4) The Chairman of the Committee on Education, the President of another leading civic organization (Rotary), two prominent businessmen and the Assistant Municipal Secretary, as members.

To the Special Action Committee the Mayor attributes most of the credit for soliciting cash and material donations for the high school and for facilitating the processing of important papers necessary for the opening and operation of the high school.

The high school program was formally opened on July 10, 1970 although the building was inaugurated and made available for use only a year after. The high school has since been operating under a restructured 2-2 plan with additional offerings of vocational courses as electives. Of late, the expenses of operating and maintaining the high school and construction of the uncompleted portion of the building is becoming quite a heavy burden for the municipal government. However, the newly founded San Juan Progress Foundation, Inc. has pledged the completion and maintenance of the high school as a priority project. As mentioned earlier, the SJPF has already quite a sum to be used for its projects.

Recreation and Cultural Services

The importance attached to the provision of recreational-cultural services is basic to any social system which gives emphasis on and aims to achieve "wholesome community and family life." In the case of the municipality of San Juan, the need to provide adequate recreational-cultural facilities is practically dictated by the municipality's relatively young population and urban status.

The municipal government does not have a definite office to "plan, organize, direct and evaluate" its recreational and cultural programs, projects and activities. Perhaps, this is the

reason why the municipal government does not have a "concrete" recreational and cultural plan. So far, it is the Office of the Mayor which serves as the municipal government's arm in planning and undertaking recreational and cultural projects. At the moment, what have been undertaken are short-term recreational and cultural activities.[2] In fact in terms of financing, the municipal government does not have a strictly recreational-cultural fund.

However, a cooperative venture has taken place between private groups and the government. The municipal government approaches concerned civic organizations and presents its recreational or cultural proposal for collaborative effort. Civic organizations likewise seek the support of the municipal government for their own projects.

The nature and extent of recreational-cultural activities undertaken by the Municipal Government may be gleaned from the Liwasang Munti ng mga Batang San Juan, the Mini Park. In terms of use, this park has a dual purpose. At one time, this park can be a site for cultural presentations such as dramas, choral concerts, etc. At another time the park can be used as a youth center thereby increasing the number of youth centers in the community.[3] In both cases, the park is ideal because it is centrally located and large in size. Mayor Estrada tapped the support of Architect Otilio Arellano in designing and executing the Mini-Park project. The Mayor used a cogon field growing on top of NAWASA pipes as site for the park. Because it fronted his parents' residence, he weathered stinging protests about his choice. Nevertheless, the creative utilization of a practically

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[2] On February 3, 1972, the municipal council passed Resolution No. 58 which prohibits the holding of barrio fiestas for financial reasons. The ordinance, however, allows for the holding of the "town's yearly celebrations held on May 3 and June 24 and considers these celebrations as 'official town fiestas'." Likewise, the resolution makes it clear that "a person or a religious organization" wanting to undertake certain religious activities may be allowed to do so provided there are no undertakings such as the "use of brass bands, holding of public dances, stage shows, etc., solicitation of money and stringing of streamers, arches."

[3] There are other youth centers to be found in the Addition Hills Elementary School compound; barrio halls and the rooms of the public high school may also be considered as youth centers. The Greenhills Subdivision has its own playgrounds.

abandoned piece of public land soon quelled the critics. Many other San Juanites donated cash or kind towards its completion. Such resource generation was led by the Mayor and acknowledged in the colorful program they distributed during the mini-park's inauguration.

Categorized as purely recreational but athletics-oriented is the basketball court complete with lights and other facilities which the municipal government built for the Enlisted Men's Barrio. The municipal government sponsored in 1971 the "Mini-Olympics" there.

On the other hand, the type of cultural activities undertaken by the municipal government is exemplified by the project of Mayor Joseph Estrada, Councilor Elsa Escano and the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) whereby at least four to five children from the barrios are taught "the rudiments of acting (plays and dramas)" for a period of three to four months with Cecile Guidote as instructor.

Other cultural activities are in the form of celebrations such as the *Pabasa* during the Holy Week and *Santa cruzan* during the months of April and May. Another related activity is the annual Lantern of Joy, the latest of which the municipal government sponsored in cooperation with the San Juan Jaycees.

Beautification projects are another type of activity. One of these projects was the remodelling and beautifying of the Pinaglabanan Monument which is the most important historic spot in the community. The Pinaglabanan Shrine Commission served as the agency for securing contributions to rebuild the monument. A new monument was cast in bronze by a noted sculptor. The beautification and cleaning of the municipal building and its environs is another project.

The number of recreational-cultural activities of the municipal government is augmented by those undertaken by civic organizations. The Federation of Youth Clubs whose membership comes mainly but not exclusively from the young people has such projects as "cleaning your respective barrios," sewing classes and games. The Mothers' Club through its Youth Auxiliary Group composed of children from both public and private schools is engaged in such activities as giftgiving during the Christmas season and advising of children, e.g., those who are addicted to drugs and those who are squatters. Its ultimate objective is to

bring about closer relationship among children in both public and private schools. The Knights of Rizal organizes seminars on "Rizal's Way of Life" for children occasionally. The Lions Club as well as the Jaycees have recreational activities. Lately, their efforts have been concentrated on athletics. At the same time, these private organizations conduct educational and recreational tours. For instance last May 1972, the Jaycees sponsored the stay of 20 out-of-school youths in the Baguio Summer Camp. Also, the Boys/Girls Scout organizations in the different schools have their own summer camps. Students of the Municipal High School have their own educational-recreational trips.

The municipal library was initiated by a group of librarians from the University of the Philippines and residents of San Juan in cooperation with the National Library. Both the national and municipal governments appropriated money for the construction of the library building.

Conclusions

The Estrada administration has used a number of structures to undertake its programs of government. These have ranged from the legally required municipal council to various government-citizen liaisons including one inherited from Doctor Boyong's brief tenure. Despite the obvious limitations of these devices, it seems clear that Mayor Estrada has sincerely tried to use many avenues in order to receive the citizens' continuing support for his government. It is also obvious that while the Mayor undoubtedly gets top billing, what occurs in San Juan is not a lone star sans a supporting cast. Despite the awards and recognition Joseph Estrada has garnered for his work in San Juan he has shown that he is eager to receive technical advice and public comments, even criticisms, which will enable him to more effectively run the government. The picture that emerges is a man who has grand projects in his mind, but who is aware that he cannot get things done alone. In the words of the Mayor himself: "Luckily, I was able to involve the citizens." Thus he has mobilized many of his constituents for specific programs along their lines of expertise. He has won a mixture of civic leaders, politicians, technical men, members of the elite, and ordinary citizens in his drive toward more effective action in San Juan.

Chapter VIII

Towards the Future

Ledivina V. Cariño and Arturo G. Pacho

San Juan is a small town. Passengers of private vehicles on Aurora Boulevard cut across it in less than five minutes; you can circle its whole territory in less than two hours. Its population size is also small; it houses only 2.4 percent of Metro Manila's inhabitants. In terms of both population and territory, San Juan seems to be surrounded by virtual giants. Quezon City on the north has 17.3 percent of the metropolitan population; Mandaluyong bordering it on the east and south flanks houses 3.3 percent; and Manila which abuts San Juan on the west has 30.6 percent of the urbanites.

Yet San Juan is a community that cannot be ignored. It interjected itself into history at the Pinaglabanan. It became the home of Presidents, tycoons, other members of the elite. At one time all three presidential candidates lived in a one-kilometer stretch at Tuberias. But with the ground-breaking events of the Sto. Domingo-Estrada years, San Juan — a mere dot on the metropolitan landscape — has both glowed and called attention to itself.

Rebirth of Community Life

The novelties have been striking; some have simply been fortuitous, not entirely due to San Juan or its leaders. The resolution of the protest case is one such event — unique in the history of electoral disputes. But the triumph of the people over the petty machinations of old-style politics came by courtesy of the courts.

Most of the others reflect the active involvement of the community. Various organizational mechanisms have tapped elite

citizens for their time, skills and funds. Municipal development councils are now cropping up throughout the country, required by a development-oriented Department of Local Government and Community Development and blest by the support of the Provincial Development Assistance Project. Yet the San Juan MDC was an entirely local creation, a brain-child of Mayor Sto. Domingo and Governor Rodriguez, nurtured by the willing participation of the professionals and businessmen, the upper class of San Juan society. Its successors — the Special Action Committee and the Progress Foundation — follow somewhat different organization models, but the active elements belong to the same social stratum. Involvement in these structures indicate that these prominent citizens — most of whom work elsewhere in the metropolis — regard San Juan as more than just a dormitory town. Rather they see it as a community worth the investment of personal resources so that its services can enrich the quality of their lives.

What is even more striking is the involvement of the common *tao* in the fate of his municipality. Most of San Juan's roads have been completely concreted, but only with the help of residents who donated labor and materials to stretch the limited funds of their government. Other projects have received similar assistance. In addition, community-based projects such as beautification campaigns and cleanliness drives have received community support and the people have pitched in in relief operations for floods that are a normal occurrence in Metropolitan Manila, and they did not grumble when their famed baptism of water during fiestas and other extravagances were turned to a simple commemoration of St. John the Baptist instead.

One might also mention the involvement that is reflected in the San Juanites' acceptance and active use of facilities provided by the municipal authorities. The municipal high school not only has full enrolment, it also boasts of an active PTA that attempts to bridge school and community activities. (Nor is that the only viable PTA in the municipality.) And the Liwasang Munti remains a focal point of community activities, and is well-maintained and well-attended after several years.

The people, too, participated actively in electoral politics. The 1971 elections saw a record turnout. Moreover, it witnessed *bakya* and elite men and women campaigning side by side for the candidates of their choice. There were the old political pros,

but their number was much augmented by individuals who used to think that political participation consisted only of marking the ballot. And it is worthwhile to note that not all the campaigning teams became moribund after the elections; some continue to "police" and "fiscalize" the administration, bringing complaints to the government's attention and in turn informing the residents of the authorities' intentions and actions.

Loyalty to San Juan and time to spare for its various projects must have been present before Estrada entered the picture. Indeed the 200 or so men of the Municipal Development Council signed up during Sto. Domingo's administration. But the seating of Joseph E. Estrada to the mayoralty of San Juan serves as a convenient cutoff period for it dramatized the translation of community aspirations and values into tangible action. More than anything else the new Mayor brought a fresh lease into community life, welded a disparate people into a unifying consciousness, and sought a meaningful identity to the urban earth in San Juan. The root must sink in deep into the good soil as the strength for life and growth: the community residents must be firmly embedded into the base of the municipality to enhance development. Mayor Estrada knew and sensed the opportunity to hold the people together and nurture the trust and confidence that had waned through the years. Trust which binds the governor and the governed has to be earned if not to be cultivated in earnest by the governor. The realization that people are the root of the community was foremost in the mind of Mayor Estrada when he designed and pursued his program for municipal development.

In 1969 the Mayor was unequivocal in expressing that "the residents of this community now deserve a new, vigorous administration responsive to their needs and expectations." The Mayor painted a dismal landscape: "the treasury was empty; the roads were full of potholes; the garbage was uncollected and the collected garbage was being dumped at a very conspicuous part of the town where the residents as well as visitors to the town could see and smell it; the police morale was at its lowest ebb...." The crisis of confidence in the municipal government was soon to break the bond of popular consent and disrupt the very essence of governance.

There was no need to call for the executive with the shining armor to come to the rescue of the municipality. The apathy and

despair simply manifested the festering neglect and abandon which depicted the municipal administration. To Estrada the clarion call instead was more community involvement in government and commitment to the fulfillment of the people's desires and needs. To turn back the tide, patch-work in management was no substitute to concrete and calculated efforts. A program package which was realizable given the constraints in municipal resources and time was to be planned and executed without delay. To regain immediately the people's trust it was necessary to show that in his performance the Mayor delivers.

San Juan was reborn: the pledge was made to restore order in the community and vision to make it as a "healthful, attractive, and economically viable local government unit." Improving the quality of life in San Juan was the more immediate and practical step. Providing the basic social services was also the primary concern of the Mayor.

The style of leadership was simple: Mayor Estrada had the sincerity and motivation to serve the people. With this as the key ingredient the Mayor required also the right men with the right talents and skills in the municipal structure and from the community to plan a program of municipal development. The program was to be carried out by people in the municipal government. Thus, it was also essential that the organization for development to be responsive should be reformed.

The reform program, the innovative acts, the new linkages between the community and the municipal government — these have not escaped public notice and recognition. San Juan has not been ignored by the media, by civic associations, by other local governments. The lens is often focused first on the colorful personality that is its Mayor, but the community is never out of the picture, for the achievements are both Estrada's and all the good people's of San Juan. The Jaycees, in giving the Mayor of San Juan its 1972 TOYM award for public administration emphasized this reciprocal dependence:

> Concrete achievements he gave to his townmates in the form of numerous public service improvements. But more than these and above all, he wenched his townmates out of themselves, restoring faith and confidence in, and compelling them to assume responsibility for their government, their community in an abiding concern for the common good.

To other towns and cities, he has shown that formidable problems can be hurdled and progress made when government and people forge a working relationship.

Towards the Future

Indeed, there have been concrete achievements but neither Mayor Estrada nor San Juan will pause to sit on the laurels. Other tasks lie ahead. Within the municipal government itself are areas that require rationalization and restructuring for more effective delivery of services. The police personnel problem is a case in point. The construction of more health centers, parks, schools and completion of the market are future public works concerns. Then, too, the program often appears like the explicitly decided patch-work in management: the Council (or the Foundation) only to be called as the need arises; services geared to responding to complaints rather than ongoing priorities.

Another issue may be just that — public works concerns. Perhaps there is more need now to focus on services, especially for the poor. Like the elite they have helped the government enthusiastically, the rich with their money and facilities, but the poor had provided their time, their strength. Thus like the in-depth interest for high school education the San Juan government may need to manifest its concern in providing services not just for leisure but for work — in alleviating unemployment, in teaching the housewives and youths some crafts, in providing housing, water, other necessities. Some of these have been started — the high school itself has given training in ceramics and the beginnings of other cottage industries, the ubiquitous problem of water alleviated by giving the fire department an extra function. But again, less piecemeal, more integrated programs are called for and here the community and the government can once more join together in a truly participative program.

There are also problems that extend beyond the locality and need the cooperation of other units in planning and implementation. Foremost of these is the near-annual floods that destroy properties, endanger lives and otherwise disrupt the normal activities of the residents. For issues such as these, a metropolitan or even a national program has to be activated. San Juan has been an active participant in such umbrella councils as the Metropolitan Manila Mayor's Council and the Metropolitan Manila Councilors' Assembly. The solution is out of San Juan's hands,

though it must be willing to accept its share of the burden and the responsibility.

But the unique thrust of San Juan's development administration is the close linkage between the community and the government. This interdependence must be fostered and the bonds strengthened for the unfolding programs. The San Juan Progress Foundation, which is the currently active structure, appears to be able to provide this mechanism for tapping the more fortunate members of the community. However, only ad hoc arrangements appear to be available for a wider community base. The fact that the government is as close as the nearest telephone and is accessible to all complaints is indeed an important asset. However, the communication has to be two-way, and the structure for garnering support and resources from the community at large needs to be institutionalized. San Juan seems to be willing to be that unique combination of circumstances — a community with urban services and facilities with the old fashioned capacity to engage in *bayanihan*-type activities. The government's ability to harness this interest and to carry it forward towards more programs and better services for the citizens would be the hallmark of a truly development-oriented administration. So far, Joseph Estrada and his team — and by this we mean not only his staff, but also San Juan as a whole — have been able to harness the energies of the people of his complex town towards purposive involvement in government programs. The future of San Juan depends on how well he — and the leaders after him — can sustain his townmates' interest, enthusiasm and support for the continued progress of the community.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COMELEC	— Commission on Elections
CFI	— Court of First Instance
DLGCD	— Department of Local Government and Community Development
DPWC	— Department of Public Works and Communications
FAMAS	— Filipino Academy for Movie Arts and Sciences
INK	— Iglesia Ni Kristo
KBP	— Kilusan ng Bagong Pilipino
LP	— Liberal Party
Meralco	— Manila Electric Company
MWSS	— Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System
NP	— Nacionalista Party
NEC/BCS	— National Economic Council/Bureau of the Census and Statistics
NAPOLCOM	— National Police Commission
NAWASA	— National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority
PC	— Philippine Constabulary
PETA	— Philippine Educational Theater Association
PLDT	— Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company
PTA	— Parents-Teachers Association
PT&T	— Philippine Telegraph and Telephone Corporation
RCPI	— Radio Communications of the Philippines, Incorporated
SJMDC	— San Juan Municipal Development Council
SJPF	— San Juan Progress Foundation
SY	— School Year
TOYM	— Ten Outstanding Young Men
USAID	— United States Agency for International Development

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